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IWGIA
INTERNATIONAL
WORK GROUP FOR
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

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IWGIA

INTERNATIONAL
WORK GROUP FOR
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

Newsletter

IWGIA NEWSLETTER

No. 58

August 1989



No. 58

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) is an independent, international organisation which supports indigenous peoples in their struggle against oppression. IWGIA publishes the IWGIA Documentation Series in English and Spanish. The IWGIA Newsletter in English and the IWGIA Boletín in Spanish are published in four numbers annually. The Documentation and Research Department welcomes suggestions and contributions to the Newsletters, Boletines and Documentation Series.

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Introduction

This Newsletter contains several articles on the rights of hunting, gathering and herding peoples to their territories and ways of life.

In the 1988 Yearbook and the last Newsletter, no. 57, there were articles on the San of Botswana. In this Newsletter we hear of the “encouragement” being given to the San to relocate from the Kalahari Game Reserve. The argument for their relocation is based on the erroneous belief that indigenous peoples and game animals cannot live together.

Following the introduction of indigenous questions from the Soviet Union, this Newsletter contains a detailed article discussing the proposed construction of a gas pipe-line and railway on the Yamal peninsula which will affect the Nenets reindeer herding peoples. A fascinating part of the article is a reconstruction of the dialogue in a conference between those responsible for the development and those concerned about the consequences for the environment and the indigenous peoples of the region.

The indigenous peoples of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, southeast of India, share problems of being settled and relocated. The threats of colonists, tourists and logging companies have decimated these groups of hunting and gathering peoples over the last 150 years and forced them into what the author calls a “death trap”.

IWGIA publishes here an article on neighbouring Sri Lanka, by Tamils, on their history of the conflict on the island. Particularly problematic for the Tamils is the colonisation of the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka by Singalese from the south. This has placed them in the same position as indigenous peoples in other parts of the world who face colonisation of their territories.

In their statement to the 1988 UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Ad-Mapu, the Mapuche organisation from Chile, describes the colonisation of their territory, particularly the construction of a massive dam project on the Bío Bío river. During the last year, repression against those Mapuche who oppose the Dictatorship has continued. Companies still continue to invade indigenous lands in Ecuador, especially in Huaorani territory, which is at the centre of oil prospecting. Conflicts between the indigenous people of the

zone and invading companies have not subsided since the deaths of the missionaries two years ago.

In Argentina, the Wichi (Mataco) suffer from the opposite problem to incursions - neglect. There the population faces sickness and death and an inability to relate to the nation state according to the minimal conditions they would wish. The indigenous people in Argentina are not always aware of the possibilities open to them. This is the point raised in the article on Greenland, which argues that even in a country with Home Rule, the people should have their rights available to them in their own language.

In an interview with Cecilio Soria from Peru, we hear how the Shipibo have managed to steer a course between invasion and neglect. There they have taken their education into their own hands, and in spite of difficulties, have exercised their self-determination by practising bi-cultural forms of education. The situation in Peru is particularly bad at the moment with a current emergency in Ucayali Department in Peru.

In Central America there have been several developments in recent months in relations between indigenous peoples and the governments. Brooklyn Rivera, leader of YATAMA, is planning to return to Nicaragua, and we publish here his intended plan for supporting the reconstruction of the indigenous communities after the war. In Honduras, indigenous organisations are fighting for an official institute which will support their interests. Their main problem is lack of sufficient land.

In the United States, a recent ruling from the Circuit Court of Appeal means that the Western Shoshone will be stripped of their grazing rights and their livestock will be confiscated. By avoiding the question of the Ruby Valley Treaty between the Western Shoshone and the Federal Government, the court has shown complete lack of respect for an international legal instrument. The Shoshone are currently appealing for international support.

Another country colonised by the United States is Hawai'i. In the presentation by Mililani Trask, she explains the historical origin of the large expanse of lands which belong to Native Hawaiians, but to which they have no access. She also describes the long process of creating an Hawai'ian constitution and the reaction it drew from the US authorities.

This Newsletter also contains two complementary articles on museums. In one, from Canada, we learn of the way in which the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples has been taken over by the colonisation process and how it should be returned and respected. The second article concerns museums' respect for indigenous cultures and argues that museums should appreciate the spiritual dimensions of culture and the material artifacts of indigenous peoples.

Argentina: The Wichi

At 1,200 metres above sea level, the Wichi Indians fight for survival in the north of Argentina against the adversities of the climate and the indifference of the authorities.

The Wichi, who number about 1,000, are a discriminated people living in the Province of Salta, some 600 kilometres from Buenos Aires, where the temperature soars to 45 degrees celsius in the summer and drops to minus 5 degrees in the winter. This climatic variation leads to fatal pulmonary diseases and Chagas disease which mostly affects the young children.

Aiko (meaning White Eagle in Wichi) is a twenty-six year old Wichi who, after an arduous trip, arrived in the capital to study medicine with the aim of acquiring "the necessary knowledge to allow him to 'help' his brothers on the reserve". Though Aiko is entering the university, his story is not one of a privileged person:

My parents did not love each other. My father was a white man who got my mother, a Wichi woman, pregnant. He never lived with us. He forced me to attend a Catholic school in the city of Salta and that is why I could study and learn his language.

Aiko, registered as Jorge Lopez by the Argentinian state, has broken the silence of his people and accused the government authorities of Salta of "violating the human rights" of the indigenous peoples of northern Argentina.

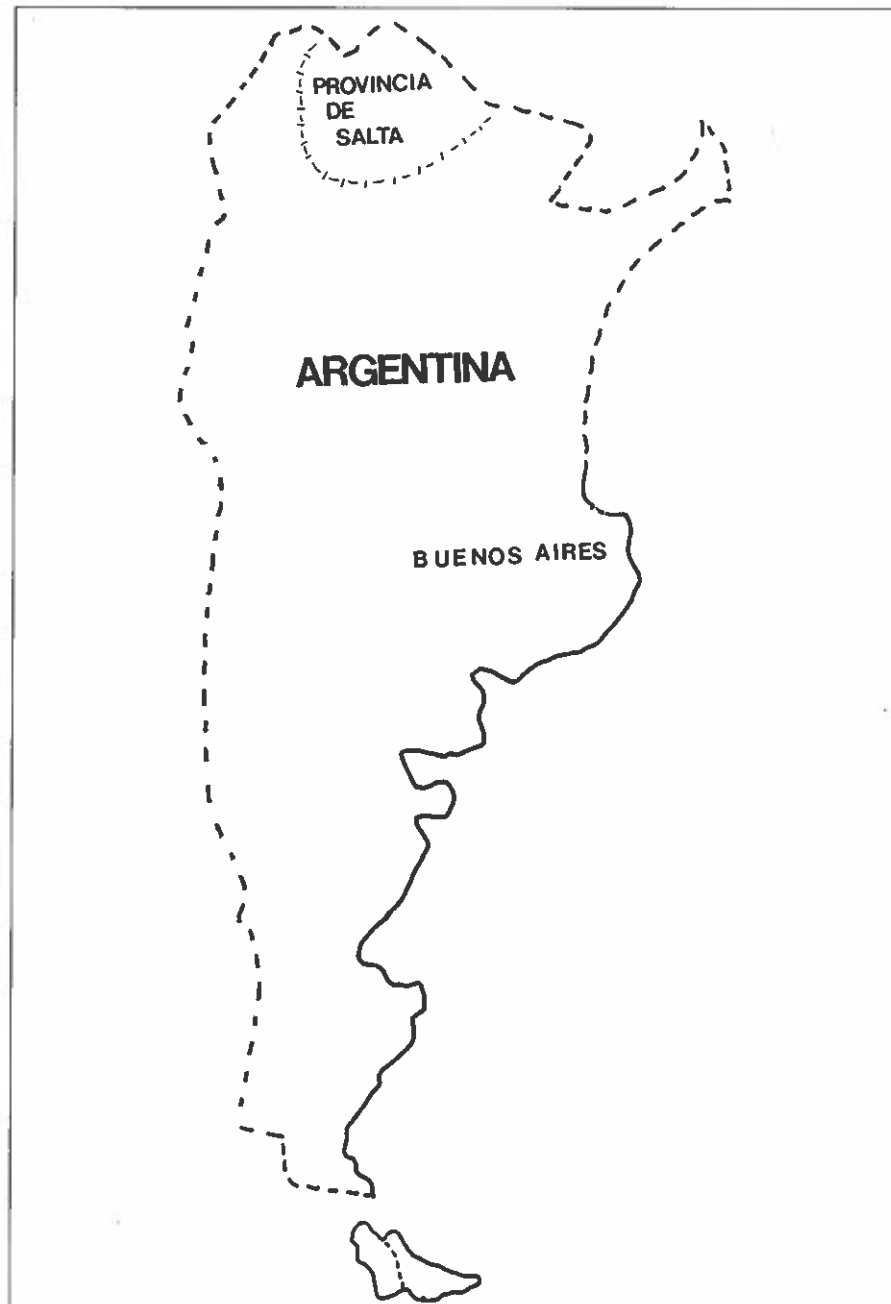
Aiko is the only member of his community who speaks Spanish and, because he suffers from the fatal Chagas disease caused by the bite of an insect which produces irreversible heart problems, he resolved to denounce the situation in which his people live before his death.

The government authorities know that we do not live here through choice but that we were displaced and now we deserve assistance. We have no doctors, no teachers - not even a priest.

In order to reach the reserve, one has to travel seven hours on the back of a mule or go the quicker route by river which cuts off four hours. The national and provincial authorities "are not unacquainted with our difficulties but our isolation seems total," says Aiko.

The Wichi community of Salta demand that lines of communication are built so that they can improve their economy and receive education and health care instead of being marginalised like an "exotic" people.

Like the repetition of an old custom, in his electoral campaign of 1983, former President Raul Alfonsín promised the Wichi that on his election he



Map of Argentina showing the Province of Salta

would give them the title to the lands which they occupy, a promise which was lost in the corridors of officialdom.

The Wichi live on no-mans-land which means that they run the risk of being moved to another wasteland should oil, for example, be discovered in the settlement. They survive on a subsistence economy that consists of domesticated animals and the cultivation of maize and potatoes, which is done by the men, while the women specialise in weaving and making pottery for home use.

We do not use money; we only exchange some animals for seeds with the Toba Indians who live in neighbouring communities and speak Wichi.

In contrast to the Toba, who are the other indigenous people of northern Argentina and take temporary work at harvest time in nearby rural areas, the Wichi do not engage in any economic activities outside of their community.

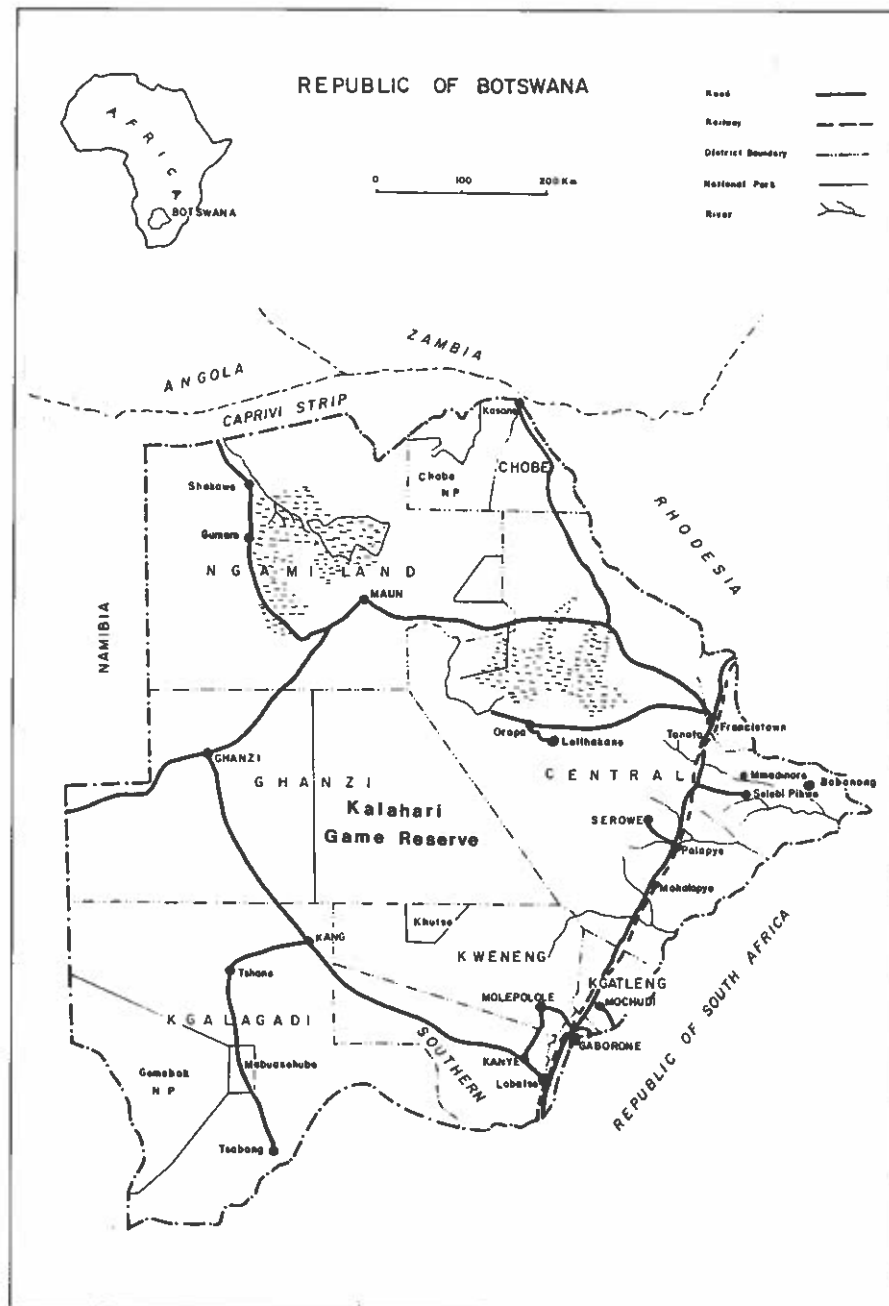
Talking of his ancestors, Aika explained:

My fathers suffered a lot when they were taken by the Spanish to work in the gold and silver mines in the highlands of Peru. Many of them never returned.

Formerly, the Wichi were a numerous people. In spite of their adverse conditions, almost one half of the population is children due to the high birth rate which compensates for the swollen rate of infant mortality.

In the official language the Wichi are called "Matacos" which in Wichi signifies "Savage Man". The Wichi reject the term and, as Aiko demonstrates, claim "respect for their identity and ancestral culture".

Source IPS



Map of Botswana showing the Central Kalahari Game Reserve

Botswana: Goodbye to the Kalahari - San Forced to Abandon their Territory

By Blaine Harden

After seven years of eating dust and after the death of an endless number of African antelope, the Kalahari is coming to life.

The San of the Game Reserve of the Central Kalahari, whose ancestors have hunted and gathered food for over 10,000 years, are now surrounded by the benefits of a good life after one of the most intense droughts they have ever experienced.

The grey, sandy land is full of cucumbers and tsama melons, sorghum and maize grow in hand-cultivated fields. Flocks of deer and kudu are grazing on the savannah. The San, mixing poison made from the larva of the ladybird which is similar to that of the beetle, await the first real hunt to take place after years of forced abstention.

The great hope for the rebirth of the Kalahari, however, has a bitter taste to it. The San are being pressed by the Botswana government to abandon the Game Reserve, in spite of the abundance of food in the area and the constant rainfall, and like a "sick joke" are being forced to leave their ancestral homes.

"I live here in Xade", says Nyatsa Bogosi, a small man who frowns as he smokes his pipe. He lives in one of the houses built at the base of a willow tree on the outskirts of the settlement.

"Here I can cultivate, I can hunt. If they take me to another place, I will have to learn to live there even though I never said I wanted to move. I will look like someone who knows nothing."

The primary school and the health clinic in Xade will be closed. The bore holes which provide drinking water throughout the year will be blocked. According to government opinion, this population of about 1,000 San "is undermining the integrity of the Game Reserve".

The President of Botswana, Quett Masire, supports the move and argues that the San want it. "They have accepted that it is for their own good", said the President in an interview. "Why does the President say this?" asks Tuelo Seklabue, headman from the area. "This is not true. They (the San from the Game Reserve) refuse to leave their land. No one wants to go. They are worried and angry."

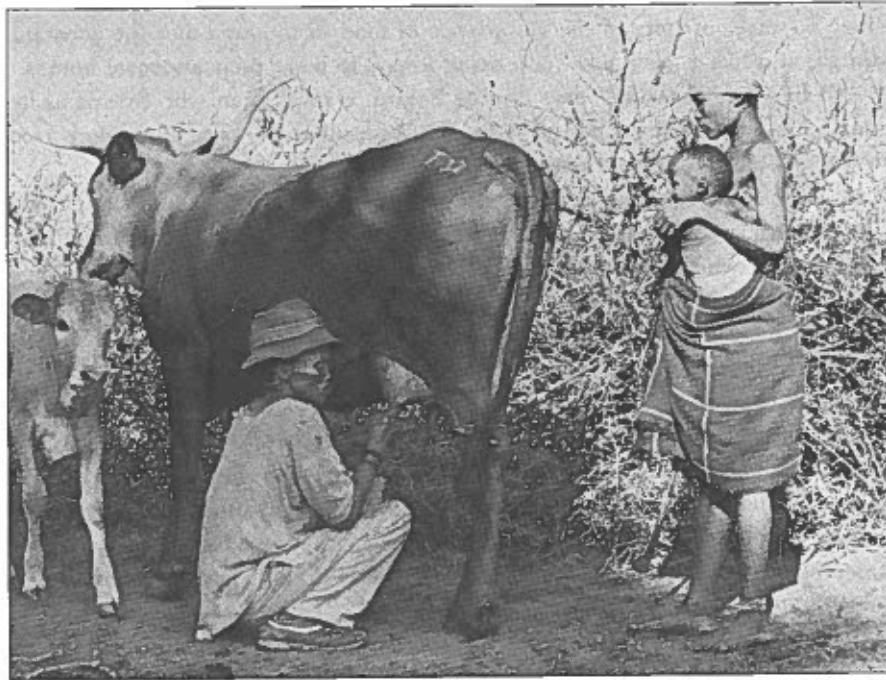
In the deep gulf between the certainty of the President who believes he knows what is best for the San and the confused anger of the San themselves, there is a history where hunger, lack of power and racial prejudice play a definitive role in modern Africa.

This will be a final chapter in the cultural extermination of one of the last groups of hunter-gatherers.

This history has been echoed in the dislocation of the Indians of North and South America and the Aborigines of Australia. But the removal of the 1,000 "residents" of the Kalahari Game Reserve comprises a series of twists of irony at an international level. Effectively, the process of disintegration is being done with the best of intentions.

It is the connection between the concerns of the observers in American environmental circles over the antelope, the generosity of Europeans who provide subsidies to preserve the cattle industry in the country and the concern by the government of Botswana for its name abroad, which always protects the reputation of the country.

Botswana is the African country which is most similar to the West in style with a multi-party democracy; in recent years the government has tried to work on its public relations. The deaths in the country of hundreds of thousands of antelopes have been publicised in books and popular films on television in both Europe and the United States.



San have long been accustomed to cattle, usually other people's cattle (photo: C. Ritchie/Cultural Survival)

The deaths of these antelopes has been caused, in the main, by the government's construction of a fence which has blocked the migratory routes of some of the largest herds of antelopes in Africa.

"The Cry of the Kalahari", one of the most successful publications by the American researchers Mark and Delia Owens, provides a description of a government which is totally insensitive to clandestine hunting, to plague and the massive killing of the antelopes. Recently, in a special television programme from National Geographic, the Owens underlined the inevitable death of the antelopes hemmed in by the fences built by the government.

Sensing the influence of observers from environmental circles, the European Community has threatened to delay the purchase of beef from Botswana if cattle ranching takes place at the expense of the wild life.

President Masire admits that the expulsion of the San from the Kalahari Game Reserve is part of a strategy to pacify the pressure coming from the environmental lobby. The Minister of Trade, Moutlakgola Nwako, who personally gave orders for the removal of the people, explains it in the following way: "The San ought to be moved to give room to the wild life. Game does not co-exist with human dwellings. Nevertheless, the Botswana Department of Wildlife affirms that the San have neither killed many antelopes nor significantly affected their migration.

Survivors of an existential life

"Hunting by the San is not the main problem", comments Mushanana Nchunga, principal biologist with the Department of Wildlife. The favourite pastimes of the San are making decorations with precious stones and hunting African deer.

"This people, labelled hunter-gatherers, have been drawn away from a form of existential life which is precarious, to a life which is the same as that of any other person," said Nwako. "We intend that the San value the modern conception of things."

In spite of the promises from the Ministry, the "modern conception of things" has been exceptionally cruel when we refer to the more or less 39,000 San who live outside the Game Reserve. According to a series of studies made by the government and foreign experts, the majority of the San are unemployed, are malnourished and illegally occupy land belonging to ranchers. Only a few of their cattle are well cared for.

To get work, the San accept basic salaries and work in horrendous conditions, according to a study carried out by the Local Government Ministry of Land. A Norwegian study in 1986 found that there exists general malnutrition

among the San who live on farms with cattle, as well as a “rate of tuberculosis which is one of the highest and most serious in Africa”.

Anthropologists who have made studies of the San (their elegant life style, their unaffected openness makes them one of the most “traditional cultures” which have been studied), conclude that the relationship between the ranchers and the San is similar to the relationship between servant and master or even slave and owner.

Edwin Wilmsen, a Boston professor who specialises in studies concerning Africa, tells that while he was carrying out research in the Kalahari, a cattle rancher offered him a San child for sale.

“The San are not just any poor people. They combine poverty with a lack of social position,” comments Kenneth Koma, member of the Botswana Parliament and head of the largest opposition party. “They have never been considered as people in this country.” In addition, Koma says that he knows certain Botswana citizens who use the San as “wedding presents”.

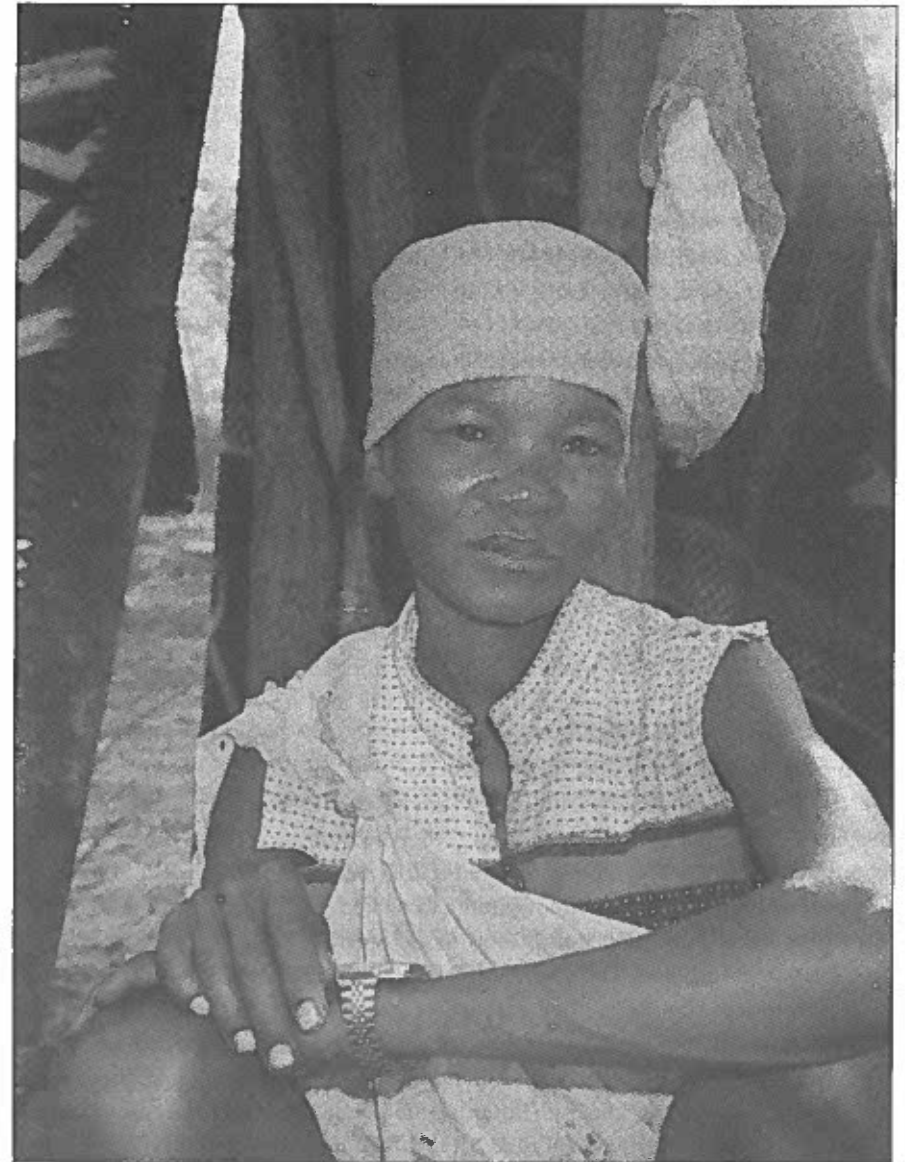
For the last 10 years the government has constructed settlements for 2,400 San. In general, these settlements have led to total chaos. “In most cases the nutrition standards in the settlements declined and the residents became apathetic and dependent on alcohol,” comments Robert Hitchcock from the University of Nebraska who was formerly employed by the Botswana government during its population planning.

In order to understand the cause which led to the destruction of the San, we must realise a primary factor: the people of Botswana, especially government workers, are crazy about cattle.

Cattle: the purest form of wealth

Botswana, which is situated in the southern part of Africa and has no access to the sea, has one of the highest ratios between animals and persons or families: that is to say more than two animals per person. The possession of this cattle (calculated at about 2 million head in comparison to about 3 million before the drought) is “extremely asymmetrical”, according to a telegramme sent by the United States. About 50 per cent of the national herd is held by 5 per cent of cattle owners.

Cattle in Botswana is the clearest form of wealth in that it represents an individual or family’s economic base and is the traditional key to gaining social position or political power. The family of the founder President of Botswana, for example, owned cattle 102 ranches. The current president is also a major owner, as is the Minister of Trade and those people in the government who have power. The income tax on money gained from animal holdings is exceptionally low and



A San woman (photo: Espen Wæhle)

public services for maintaining cattle are free. Various items needed to raise cattle, such as calcium and mineral salts, are largely subsidised by the government and only sold in bulk, all for the convenience of the large cattle ranchers.

Botswana has a special agreement with the European Community which guarantees a higher subsidy on its cattle. The current agreement which the EC is considering as a form of support for future development will give Botswana a guarantee for the selling price of meat. This is three times the selling price in other parts of the world. According to the regulations of the EC, this generous subsidy ought to be redistributed by the Botswana government among the poorest farmers of the country. But, the government has chosen to channel the gifts of the EC to the large cattle producers creating a net of almost irresistible incentives.

The excessive pasture for the cattle is a primary environmental problem in the country. A report from the government on the future of the Kalahari Game Reserve indicates that cattle constitute the major threat for the San and the wild-life.

“The integrity of the Game Reserve, which is a refuge for both wild animals and for the way of life of the San, has been turned into something precarious over the years. This is due particularly to the unstoppable pressure from the cattle owners seeking more land”, says the report. The San usually look after other people’s cattle. Hardly any of them own anything.

For Westerners it is simple to fantasise about the San. They are about five feet tall at the most, have an egalitarian culture and an extraordinary range of natural knowledge and hunting prowess. They have enchanted and captivated many scientists, writers and film producers.

In their traditional culture, the San have a minimal concept of private property. As nomads who travel on foot, they own nothing more than they deem essential – some clothes, a piece of wood to dig, arrows and a bow, a pot for cooking – everything else is superfluous and a loss of energy. Their traditional culture allows for no type of leadership, there is no specific chief.

The chief in Xade, Tuelo Seklabue, was appointed by the government. Tuelo Seklabue says that he is often accused of being giving more importance than he rally has. “The people would like to know where I have gained my power. They say that I have no form of education. They are suspicious,” he says.

The tribal women can put botanists in the shade when they demonstrate their encyclopedic knowledge of more than 100 different wild plants and, furthermore, they can find them in the immense, empty desert just at the moment when they are mature. As hunters and gathers, the men have no equals in all Africa. Armed with small bows, they can furtively stalk an antelope which is on guard to a very close distance without attracting its attention, graze it with a poisoned

arrowhead and follow its footprints for several days until the poison has taken effect.

In a rather romantic film which became extremely popular for a while in the United States, called the “Gods must be Mad”, a fictional group of San who are hunting are surprised by the fall of a bottle of coca cola which comes from a passenger aeroplane. The bottle represents a very hard object which the San have never experienced, knowing only sand, forest and bone. The fascination, and finally the total corruption, caused by the object leads to fights and jealousy. The film follows the way of a wise old man in his dangerous journey to cast the bottle to the edge of the earth. Here in the village of Xade, the life style is not so innocent.

All over the ground and around the huts one can see crushed tins (which have not fallen straight from the sky). The men light their pipes with lighters imported from Johannesburg in South Africa. Whereas once they would squeeze water from bore holes, drop by drop, now they all take water from a hole dug by the government. In the health clinic, most of the mature women are given injections of Depo-Provera, which is a form of birth control drug.

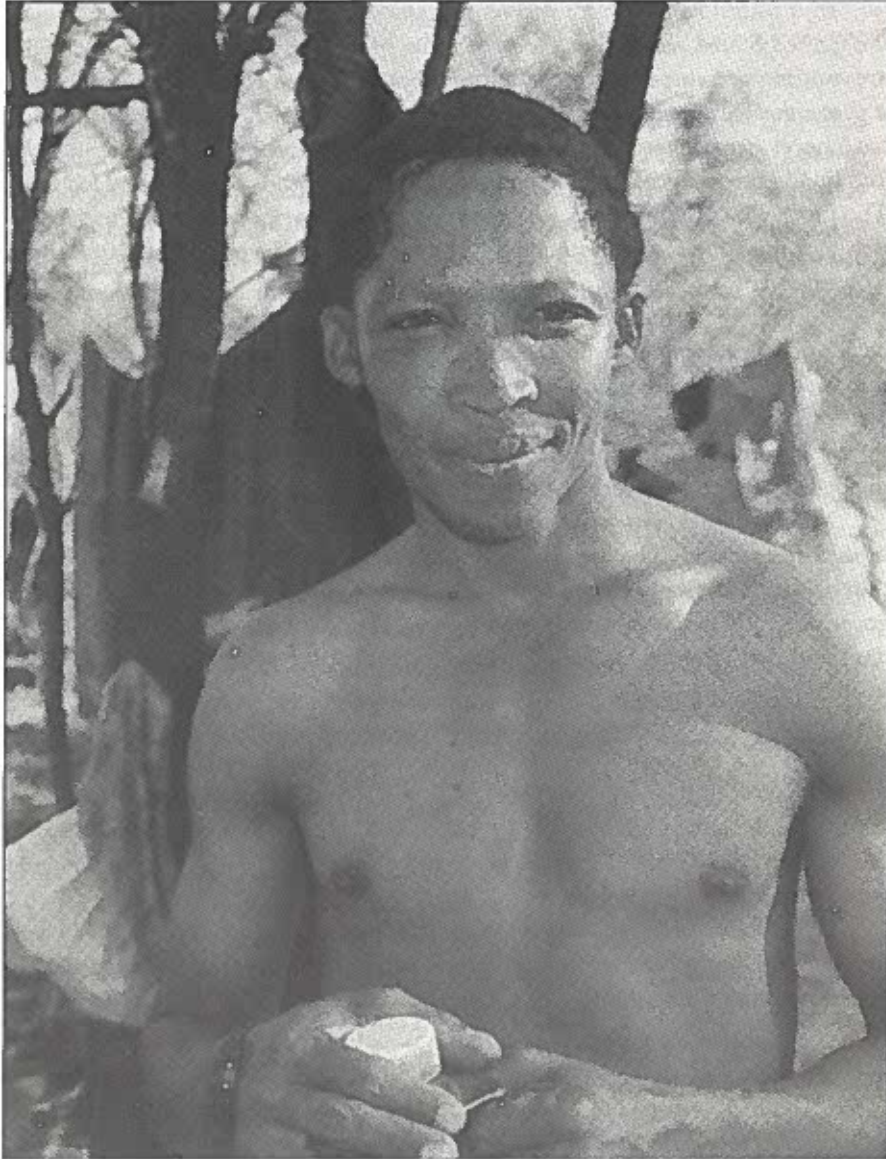
Many families own goats and donkeys which have devastated the vegetation in the area around. The long drought has meant that all the people who live in the vicinity are totally dependent on the free food which is distributed by the government. When it rains this year, just as every year when the rains are abundant and the Kalahari blossoms, many families from Xade join together to hunt in the Game Reserve.

In spite of the concession to modernism and a form of life which is not exactly that of a romantic film, many of the San from the Game Reserve – survivors of several droughts – depend on hunting and gathering for survival, according to the anthropologist Robert Hitchcock. He maintains that the 978 residents from the Game Reserve constitute the main groups of hunters and gatherers in Southern Africa.

Gabotsotwa Lekgobo, whose husband died two years ago, lives in Xade with her son and two other children, all are dependent on the food provided by the government as a hand-out.

The Elders of Southern Africa

The hunter-gatherers who descend from one of the oldest cultures in the continent are known by various names. They were given the label “Bushmen” by the English. Anthropologists say that they are of low stature and speak several dialects using clicks as sounds. They have two African names. Some years ago the preferred name was Basarwa, but currently San is considered better. The popu-



A San man (photo: Espen Wæhle)

lar usage in Botswana is RADs, Remote Area Dwellers, which the government has used in its aid programme to avoid the other terms.

If we make a comparison between the life style of the San in the Kalahari Game Reserve and the life style outside it, the latter has always been miserable.

During the 19th century the extermination of about 100,000 San took place along the border of South Africa. In the northwest of Angola, during more than 10 years of incessant civil wars, many San have been killed or chased from their homes. In northwest Namibia there are about 31,000 San (of whom many are refugees from Angola). Many of them live a sedentary life-style without work of any kind and in a dependent and demoralised condition, according to the research of Hitchcock in the area.

The most important employer of the Namibian San is the South African Armed Forces. The army San number about 128 men with about 5,000 members of their families, *lapas*, dependent on them, according to Hitchcock. "I hate to admit it, but these live in better conditions than many others", says Hitchcock.

Within Botswana itself, a country which prides itself on its democratic traditions, the San have, in theory, complete legal equality and access to public services. But racial prejudice and cultural isolation has practically transformed them into servants or vagabonds.

All of what currently makes up Botswana was taken from the San about 200 years after some invasions led by Bantu tribes from the south. "The African sees the San in a deprecatory way as if they were sub-human. They never formed a large army", said Kgosi Linchwe II, one of the most influential tribal chiefs in Botswana, in an interview. "We never respected them - they behaved like animals." Education has not improved the social condition of the young San who have completed their primary and secondary education, according to Soblen Mayane, a Botswanan sociologist who has worked for ten years with the San inside and outside the Game Reserve.

"Going to school is no valid passport for integration", comments Mayane who currently holds the position of substitute to the executive head of the ruling political party in Botswana. "The San, regardless of how good their education is, cannot find work in the city. If they tried they would be the laughing stock of everyone."

Mayane adds that official education neither opens any doors, nor provides an effective alternative which could enable people to return to the traditional way of life to which they are accustomed. Many young San who live outside of the Game Reserve have lost the skills necessary to survive as hunters and gatherers.

Echoing the opinion of many of the authorities who have been working with the San, Mayane considers that it is cruel and insensitive to move the 1,000 hunters and gatherers out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. "Until they move,

the San will remain happy and independent. They do not depend on government hand-outs. But soon they will have to take them. This is the greatest error which the government is committing”.

When documentation was produced internationally in the mid-1980s of the diminishing numbers of antelope, some were killed crossing the fences made for the cattle, others stoned by children, the government was forced to take action.

Nwako, the Minister of Trade established a “Commission of Investigation” whose aim was to solve the problem of animal conservation in the Kalahari and what could be done for the San who lived there. In a report published by the Commission, it was stated clearly that the Game Reserve had been established “to protect the animal life and reserve enough land for the traditional use of the hunting and gathering communities.” The report also said that the cattle, the cattle fences and incompetent administration on the part of the government – and not the presence of the San – were the principle factors responsible for the destruction of the animal life within and outside the Game Reserve. The report adds that the removal of the San “is neither convenient nor feasible...Apart from creating a group of frustrated people, this move will mean that they will all become reliant on government hand-outs.”

Instead of moving the San from one place to another, the report says that the Reserve should be divided into zones. The people would be allowed into one of the zones and the fauna “carefully conserved”. In the other zone the San could “aspire to their legitimate desires to integrate with modern society, to a greater or lesser extent”.

Nevertheless, Nwako, Minister of Trade, rejected the findings of the Commission which he had set up. “Judging from our part and with the best intentions, this recommendation would be contrary to the objectives of our way of working and would constitute the breaking up of the Game Reserve”.

Critics consider that the government of Botswana is more interested in expanding cattle ranches than in conserving wildlife. They believe that the government considers them to hold a primitivist perspective, meanwhile the government takes the San from their lands and can calm the anger of the environment observers and keep contacts open for aid from abroad in developing the ranches.

“By moving the San, the government considers that it could satisfy world opinion and also be able to increase the access of select cattle ranchers to foreign financing and thereby increase the development of private ranches”, says Wilmsen, a teacher at the University in Boston, who has just carried out 6 years of research in Botswana (cf. “The Land covered by Flies – the Political Economy of the San”, forthcoming).

Wilmsen indicates that the bad publicity arising from the death of different types of animals did not only incite the European Community to threaten the

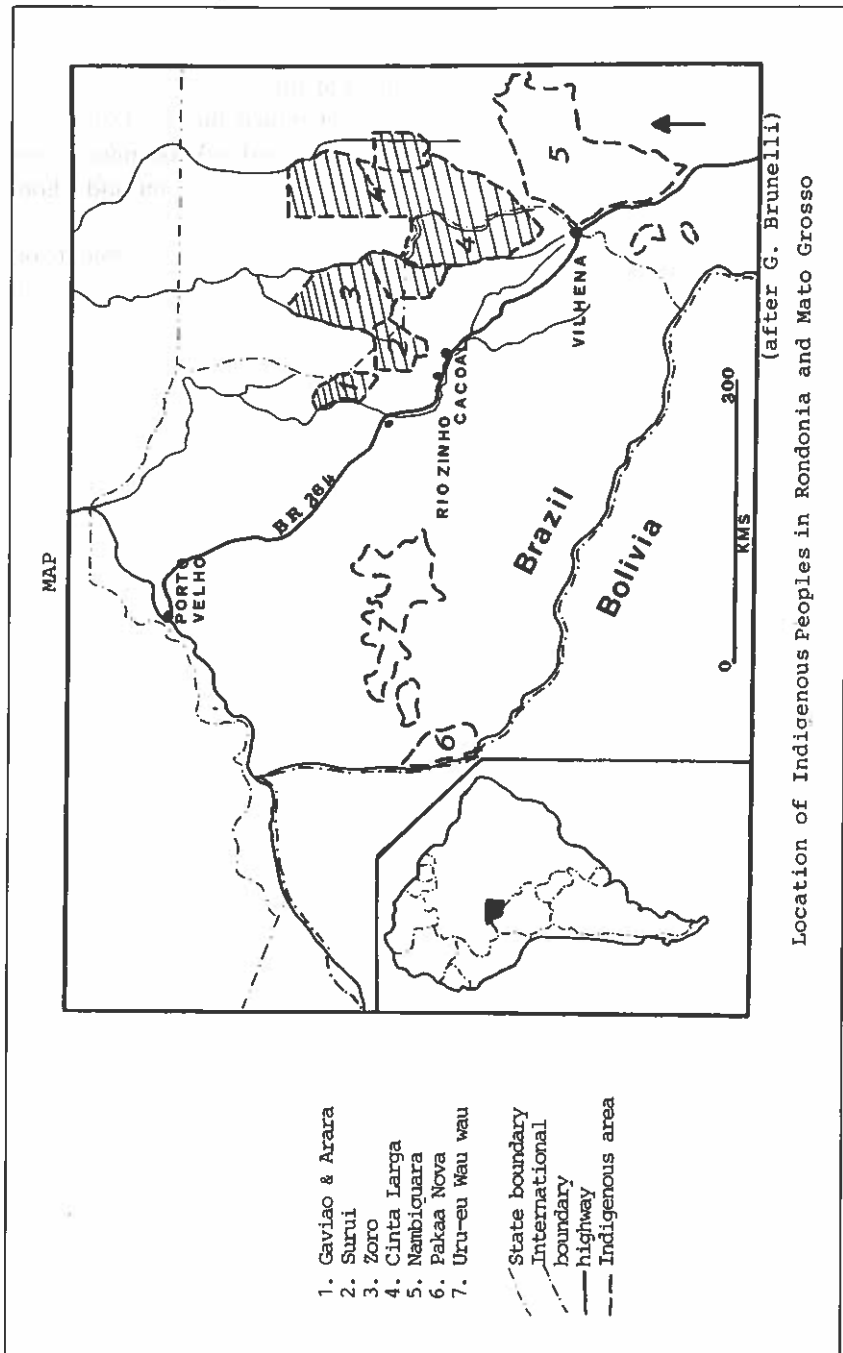
government with cutting some lucrative subsidies for the sale of meat, but also helped to put pressure on the World Bank to consider temporarily suspending its \$6 million low-interest loan which was aimed at the cattle ranchers.

The target of these loans, according to the Council for the Defence of Natural Resources, an environmental group which is based in Washington, “are undoubtedly again only those cattle owners who have political power and whom we are already aware of, on the whole.”

The removal of the San will quickly come about when the settlements on the outskirts of the Game Reserve are complete. The government says that it will not force the San to move. But all the public services in the Game Reserve, including drinking water, the health clinic and the school will be abandoned when the similar facilities are opened in the new settlements.

“I would not say that they are going to be moved”, comments President Masire. “I would say that they will move themselves.” During seven years of drought, Nyatsang Dira was one of the hundreds of San who stayed isolated in Xade. “We are used to taking water provided by the government,” he says. “A long time ago we lived on melons.” He also says that the government drilled its bore holes for drinking water in Xade and that it said that he would only be able to get water on the outskirts of the Game Reserve, where they are to be moved.

“The government holds the advantage,” he says. “It will be difficult to survive.”



Map showing the location of indigenous peoples in Rondonia and Mato Grosso (map after G. Brunelli)

Brazil: Iabadaí Surui Will Not Forget How the Lumbermen Killed Iabner

By Betty Mindlin

On October 16th 1988, Iabner, a Surui Indian from Rondonia, was killed by gunmen in the Zoro Indigenous Area. He was returning from a joint expedition of Surui, Gaviao, Arara, Cinta-Larga and Zoro Indians in Zoro territory, with the aim of finding and expelling some invaders. This is a testimony of the assassination and evidence about those who committed and were responsible for the crime. They still go free and unpunished.

During the episode, other Indians were very nearly killed and initially a group of six persons were declared missing. After having escaped a heavy exchange of shots, they ran into the woods, and five of them reappeared some days later.

The Zoro Indigenous Area, covering 470,000 hectares, was demarcated in 1985. The demarcation decree was signed in 1987, but the decree was never confirmed by a second decree as is required by Brazilian law.

The death of Iabner is just one sign of the neglect the Brazilian government shows in its declared policy of defending Zoro territory. A highway was built illegally for a group of companies in 1976. After being in contact with the Zoro, it was closed by FUNAI in 1978, but was re-opened and expanded during 1983. In 1984, some anthropologists from the evaluation team of the Polonoroeste Project found out that the highway was still being used for convoys and illegal lumberjacks who installed themselves on the indigenous lands. The anthropologists and the Indians demanded that they withdraw, but nothing was achieved, except in legal terms: in 1988, a Federal Supreme Court ruling warned FUNAI that the highway should be closed, but this was not carried out.

As for the invasions, which are illegal occupations, they increased. In 1985 a survey carried out for FUNAI counted 66 invader families; in 1987 they counted 200. Today it is very difficult to calculate the number of invaders. FUNAI has set up police road blocks at both ends of the highway to prevent new invaders from entering.

This measure, together with the demarcation of the area, represented a victory for the Indians and their allies. The Zoro Area includes the Polonoroeste Programme which was partially financed by the World Bank and became renowned for its devastating effects on the environment, which were a threat to the survival of the indigenous population. One of the conditions the World Bank made on the Brazilian government for granting the loan was that the land and

the health of the indigenous peoples should be protected (the loan was suspended in 1985 as the protective measures for the Indians had not been taken). The obvious infringement of this clause provoked protests from people in Brazil and abroad, which forced the government to recognise the indigenous territory and made Polonoroeste into a symbol for the international campaigns to preserve the Amazon and for laying down conditions for external financing of large projects.

In spite of this, the Brazilian government – and FUNAI too if the truth be told – have abandoned the Zoro to their fate. Unfortunately, they gave up taking measures to protect the territory efficiently. In September 1988, the road blocks into the area were destroyed by invaders and timber merchants who had convinced the Zoro Indians to “sell” their land, – as they gained nothing through FUNAI – and bribed them with promises. Because of this, and with the approval of the local politicians who were out attracting votes the day before the elections, new inhabitants entered the area in large convoys of busses and trucks.

Without the approval or the presence of their advisors, the Zoro ended up taking the advice of their enemies, desperate at the sight of their devastated lands. Apart from the pernicious indigenist policy, since 1978, the Zoro have succumbed to missionaries from The New Tribes Mission, who have dissuaded them from defending their territory and keeping their traditional customs.

With this background to the conflicts and the situation in the area, it will be easier to understand the following testimony of the assassination given by the Surui leader, Iabadai. It will spread new light on the dramatic events in which the indigenous communities have become involved.

The Expedition in Defence of Zoro Territory and the Death of Iabner

Testimony made to Betty Mindlin by Iabadai Surui

“It all began because we knew that the Zoro were selling the land and letting illegal inhabitants and strangers enter the Area. They were selling their own land and that of the Surui and Cinta-Larga, their neighbours. This happened in Pacarana in the region where a highway cuts the Zoro Indigenous Area.

“This message was brought about by Gasarab, one of our leaders, one of our representatives from the village Line 14, who, in September, went with some other people to see what was happening with the invaders (*in Line 14 and in the village closest to the Zoro territory*). He entered Zoro land and met by chance with their leader, Paio, who threatened to kill him. The Zoro said that the invaders were going to buy them clothes, food, construct an infirmary and look after them, and for this reason they had decided to sell the land. If the Surui



Otéia, Surui leader killed by colonists in 1976 (photo: Jesco)

would not permit this, they would have to die. They, the Zoro, were no longer Indians: they were going to live like people are living in the cities. They ordered the Surui to take off their clothes: if they were Indians they should stay that way and die naked. Gasarab defended himself saying that he was not the most important Surui leader and that they ought to talk to the great Surui leader, Itabira. Thus he managed to get away.

"When we heard that the Zoro were selling their land, we decided to assemble the Surui people, the Gaviao, the Arara and the Cinta-Larga in order to throw out the invaders. The invaders were making the Zoro all sorts of promises; they tricked them openly.

"There was a Cinta-Larga Indian, called Moloqueiro, who worked together with a timber merchant, Americo Minotti. He ordered the Indian to go to his people and promised them money in exchange for land.

"Chief Paio went with the Cinta-Larga Indian to Americo Minotti in Cacoal, where the three of them met and agreed to trade the Cinta-Larga land. But the truth is that the Zoro did not receive one centavo for the sale, nor a scrap of bread: it was Moloqueiro who got all the money Minotti paid.

"Knowing that the Indians were going to stop the invaders from entering, Minotti sold land to third parties, to more than 2,000 families, to diamond diggers and timber merchants. He sold pieces of land inside the zone.

"It was at this moment that the Surui decided to go together with the Cinta-Larga to resolve the problem. They notified the co-ordinator of UNI, Ailton Krenak, by phone, that the people were ready. The Cinta-Larga, with their leader Roberto Carlos, were going as they had decided that they could not wait for FUNAI to solve the situation. All my relatives, the other Indians, the Gaviao and the Cinta-Larga, came and invited us to go together. They guaranteed us that we would not go alone. An Indian is an Indian, we have to help each other... They were my relatives, they needed us, we could not abandon them. I kept my eyes closed for I had no alternative, Americo Minotti was settling a lot of invaders inside the area and if we waited too long we would not be able to get them out.

"We were 40 Surui men and there were also other people, we must have been 300 people all in all. First we went to the town Ji-Parana, close to where the Gaviao Indians live, then to Arara, and from here to the Castanhil ranch, close to the Zoro. From here we went to where the Zoro live.

"In Zoro territory we talked to them, to the Indians. We came to terms because we explained what had happened.

"Another day, a Tuesday (day 11), we went to a mine (*garimpo*) where they were opening a road. We came across a group of huts but no people - the only person we saw was a "*garimpeiro*" (a *person digging for precious stones*).

"There were gold mines and inside the area there were great riches, there were diamonds and cassiterite. There were many roads, the place was so large that the roads did not reach every corner. One could not count how many invaders there were. You could see the traces of farm workers, miners and timber workers.

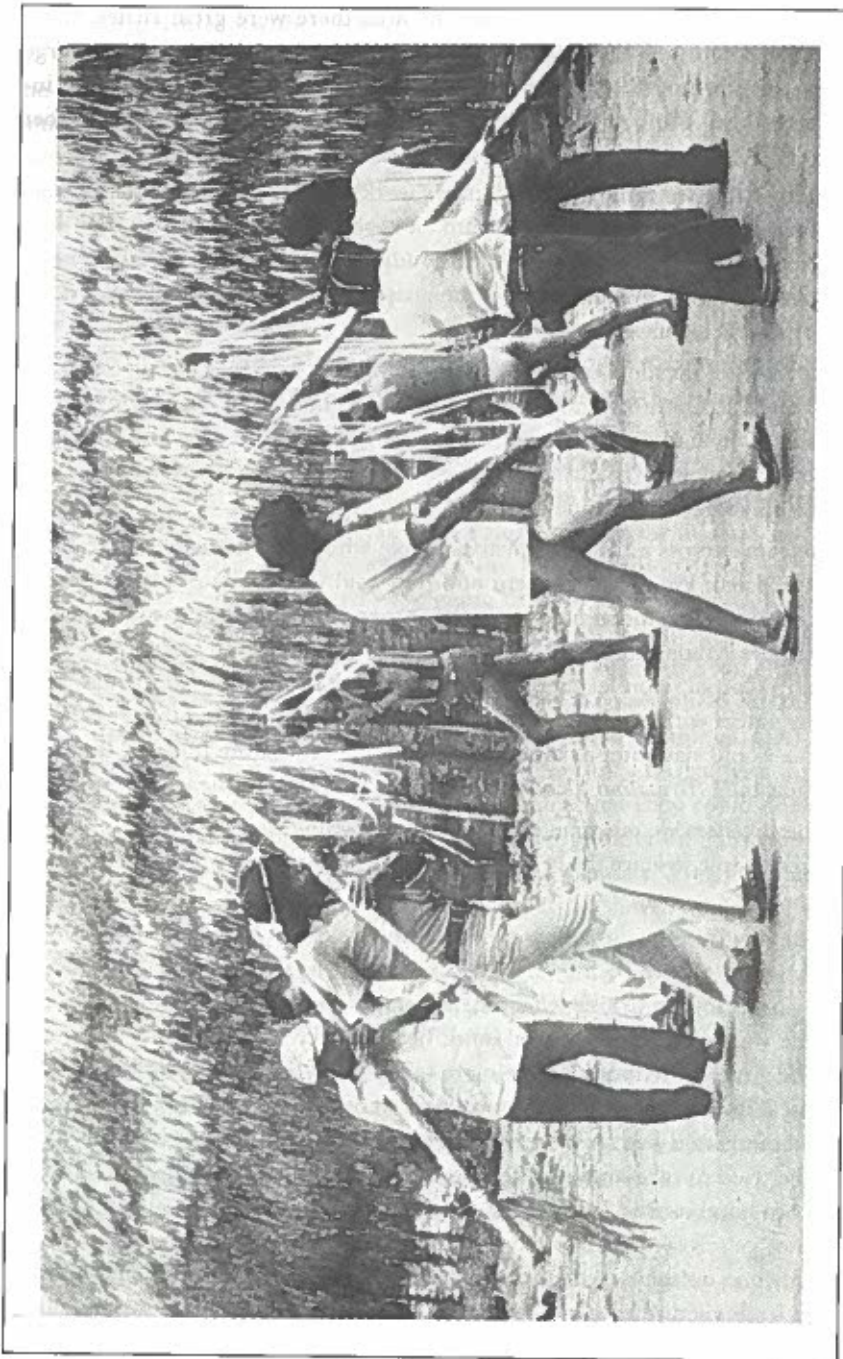
"Another day we came across a timber worker in his house. He had a tractor, a truck, machines. We talked to him, we took his clothes off, we tied him up, we were going to kill him. Some of the Indians did not want to that. We also came upon some invaders and some of the people wanted to fight with them, but the Zoro would not have that.

"We tied the invaders up and afterwards we set them free because some of the Zoro and the Cinta-Larga did not want to kill them, they knew some of the lumbermen, they had done business with them. We beat them up and ran away. We came across a group of invaders with all their furniture and other things who had come to settle in the zone.

"We came across a truck, a tractor, people who worked for the timber merchants in Cacoal. We talked to them and they told us they had been given permission to enter the indigenous zone by Americo Minotti and someone else called Vicente Madeira. These people had connections with candidates for the elections in Cacoal, who let them enter the area in order to obtain votes. They had many voters within the area, more than 2,000. They trusted that the timber merchants would slaughter a cow every week and give it to the Indians, they gave them "*guarana*" (*Brazilian alcoholic beverage*) in order to please the Indians.

"The invaders we met said that nobody was going to leave the zone: 'If you try to force people to leave the reserve you will not succeed. We will stop the Indians'.

"One day we ran into a Toyota in the middle of the highway, and Paio was in it with another Zoro by his side. Paio pointed at us with his gun, but the gun did not work. So I told him what was happening and he understood. He told us why he was selling the Indians' land: because FUNAI would not hand over things and Americo Minotti was going to take FUNAI's place. Paio said we were right, that Minotti was only giving promises in order to get hold of the land and sell it to others, and he came over to our side. But he would not let us have the Toyota, he tried to take away the key from me and forced us to leave the Toyota. I would not hand it over, I wanted to use the Toyota to return to our village, but one cannot get cross with a relative, and we were on his land. The Zoro would not kill anyone on their own land. I handed over the key to the driver, who the men had frightened, they had beaten him up, and he escaped and ran to tell the others what we had done. We let him escape so he could give the alarm!



Surui curing ritual Hoiete (photo: Betty Mindlin)

“We lay down to sleep in the woods, someone could attack us during the night.

“There are several villages in the indigenous zone, in Alto Paraiso da Serra and in Patrimonio Azul. The people were getting together, armed, they were going to kill the Indians, they brought us a message that frightened us, that said we were going to die. We decided to continue pushing back the invaders anyway, so we went through the bush and came out on the other side of the village of Paraiso de Serra. But the Gaviao people, the Arara and the Cinta-Larga decided to go back and by the next day they were gone. Then we were only a few people left. We were left alone to push back the large number of invaders, we were in bad condition and were not able to continue walking or stand the hunger... So we decided to turn back by the Pacara road, in the direction of Espigao del Oeste, to come out in the Surui zone, in the village of Line 14 (to the south). The rest of the Indians, the Gaviao, the Cinta-Larga, did not turn back to this road but to the Zoro zone and then to Ji-Parana (to the north, where there were no invaders).

“When we Surui returned alone by the Pacarana highway, because the rest of the group, the Gaviao, the Cinta-Larga and the Arara, had already withdrawn to their villages, we went to the house of one of the inhabitants in the region, one of the invaders, to talk to him. One part of the Surui group had gone ahead but the six of us had been delayed. We were Xamoia, Iamixara, Pani, Urali, Roberto Carlos (who was a Cinta-Larga) and I.

“We left our weapons in the middle of the road, in a large basket, in order not to frighten the inhabitants and we decided to ask the woman to cook us lunch. Roberto and I stayed in the entrance while the other four went into the kitchen of the house. We heard a vehicle moving closer, I said to Roberto: ‘it is the vehicle we held up, full of people, they are going to kill us...’. It was the same Toyota Paio had used. Roberto tried to stop the car, and when they saw our weapons in the middle of the road, a lot of armed men came out of the Toyota, about fifteen shooting people. I ran to pick up my gun, but I could not reach it. It was as if the bullets took away all my strength, the bullet rain knocked me down backwards and I fell down on the ground. And so the gunmen completely destroyed our weapons.

“The other four who were in the kitchen ran into the woods. Roberto Carlos, who had rolled over on the ground, moved discreetly and got hold of his gun. He shot at the gunmen, who stopped shooting, and got into the car and fled.

“The Toyota then went to where the other group of Indians was. They came across Neminha, who walked by himself, and they shot at him. He managed to run and escape into the woods.

“Later on the Toyota came across Iabnar, they shot at him and he cried a lot. Nothing more was heard of him, nobody knows what happened to the old man, we are afraid he is dead.

“The Toyota drove on and came across another group of Indians, about thirty of them. The ones who were closest to the car, Dikmuia and Maribago, shot at the Toyota and it looked as if they wounded the gunmen. And so the Toyota returned to Paraiso da Serra.

“It is true we set fire to a house. Because in the hour of danger, when everybody had fled into the woods, we came across an empty house. The Indians thought the gunmen had killed all our families, all our friends, and therefore we set fire to the house”.

When Iabadai gave this testimony the body of Iabner was missing. It was not found until fifteen days later, cut up and burnt.

It was one of the invaders from the zone, one of the people who were in the Toyota, who made a statement to the police describing the crime. He stated that he had been forced to participate in the assassination expedition. He said that, after the murder of Iabner, approximately twenty kilometers from Paraiso da Sierra, the men placed the body in the car. Eight kilometers from the village they threw the dead body into the woods.

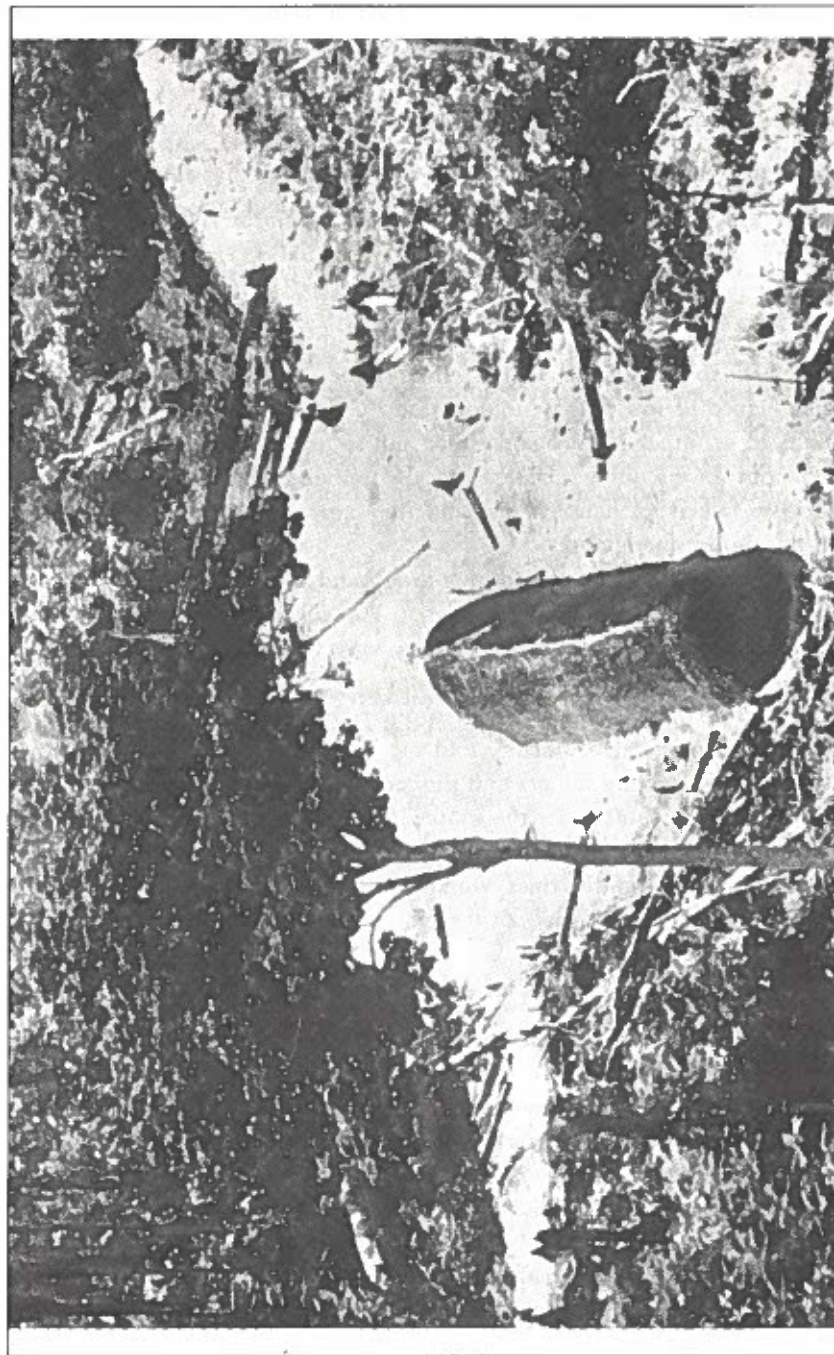
It was because of this testimony that the police were able to find what was left of Iabner and his body was taken to the village to be buried there.

The FUNAI Administration – they have the responsibility for the invasions and the assassination

“I thought FUNAI was supposed to work for the Indians, or am I mistaken? Before it was FUNAI who took the necessary measures to keep the invaders out of the indigenous zone. FUNAI are watching, they know there are miners, timber merchants, invaders. The officials are not blind. So, why does FUNAI not ask the federal police to expel the invaders? Why do they not ask the government for more money to pay the police?

“I am sad because I let my people suffer and the gunmen killed my relative. We are fighting without counting on FUNAI to expel the invaders and one of my friends is dead. It was FUNAI who should go there, together with the police.

“Now I am going to insist that FUNAI takes the necessary measures. I will get together with the FUNAI delegate in Porto Velho and with the president of FUNAI. I am going to have a discussion with the people from FUNAI. The president of FUNAI cannot give licenses to the timber merchants to enter all the Indigenous Areas in Rondonia. We the Mequen, the Cinta-Larga, the Gaviao,



Zoro village before contact (photo: Jesco)

the Zoro and the Urueuwauwau, we do not want any lumbering to take place there, the President of FUNAI cannot keep on handing over licenses.

The Indians and the timber merchants

“Neither can our relatives, an Indian leader, or anyone give the timber merchants license to enter. If an Indian permits such a thing, how are we going to be able to convince FUNAI to expel the timber people?”

“Many of the Indians who collaborated in the expulsion of the Zoro invaders have the same ideas. The Zoro cannot have timber merchants in their region, we are going to talk to them about this situation.

“The Gavião Indians are against selling timber. One of the Gavião leaders, Catarino, helped us in Zoro. He told us that FUNAI wants to establish timber merchants in his area. He is against that and so are the others.

“The Surui were doing business with the timber people last year. So we intervened, we talked to their leaders, and they agreed with us that they were against the timber merchants.

“Other indigenous groups continue to sell and they are sorry that we prevent the timber from getting out of the area. We will tell them what we think.

“They do not think like Indians. They want to become Whites at once. They want money, cars, they want to become city people. They want to sell all our riches. They want to lose it all, even our rights.

“The Gavião leader, Catarino, told me that he was against all that and against the Indians giving miners and timber merchants permission to work in their territories. He thinks that the money from the timber will not last their whole lives, and he is right, is he not? People should not cut down their trees. People eat the fruits from the trees, without trees there is no food. We want the honey from the trees, the fruits, all the edible things of the forest”.

FUNAI's connivance with the timber merchants and the mineral exploiters

“FUNAI's aim is to put an end to the indigenous peoples in Rondonia and above all, to the Surui people. They have turned my own people against me because I have forbidden the selling of timber. They have turned my relatives against me.

“We have to fight for our rights. We cannot change into rubber tappers, Columbuses, we cannot change into Whites, live like the Whites do. We have to ensure our rights.

“FUNAI is to blame for a lot (*in this case of land selling and assassination*). They have often wanted me to set up mining or timbering on my territory. Every time I go to talk to FUNAI about the health problems of the Indians, they tell me that I ought to sell timber like all the other Indians are doing.

“The administration told us that our region is very rich, that we can sell these riches and work as miners and lumbermen, and in this way solve our health problems, that we should support new plantations, develop our agricultural techniques. FUNAI is protesting because it spends a lot of money on the Surui. The other indigenous peoples do not use as much money and they earn it themselves.

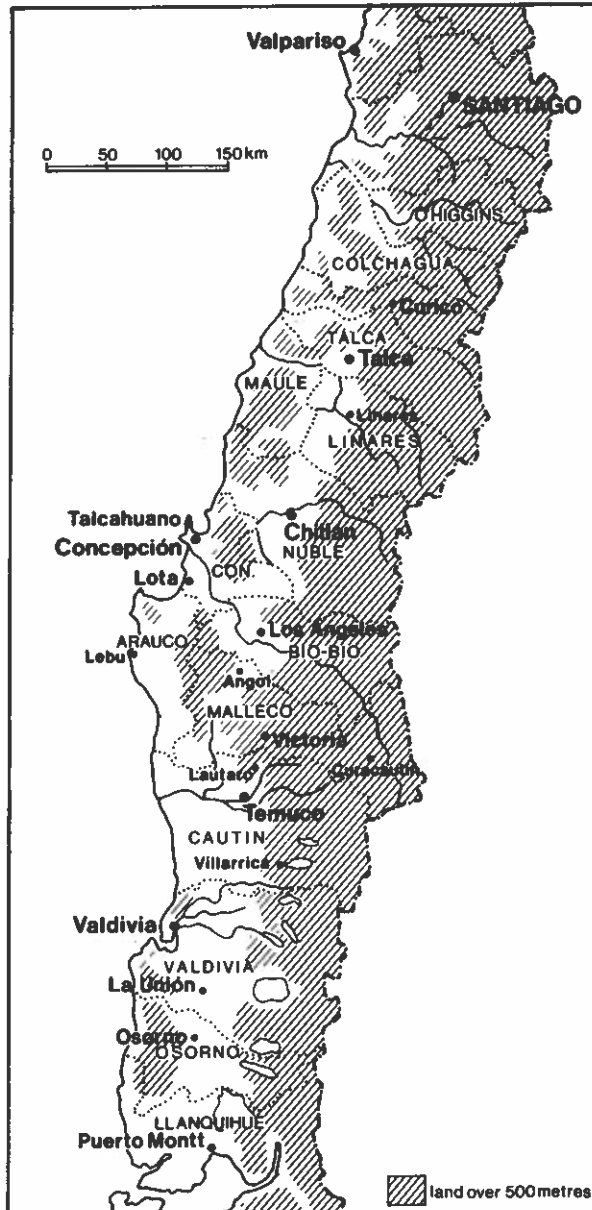
“In FUNAI they say that some of the indigenous peoples are very intelligent because they start mining, because they sell timber and mineral products. I talked to the leaders of one group who were making a project to sell timber and start a timber yard in FUNAI's place. The timber yard set up machines, a ranch was placed in their territory.

“I answered them that I want neither timber yards nor mines and that FUNAI is to blame for what is happening to my people, for this death.

“Now that the damage has been done, that Iabner is dead, I can talk, I have to talk. I did what FUNAI wanted me to – I took my people to the Zoro Area. FUNAI wanted to put an end to my people and a man has died. Now I am not going to keep quiet, I will open my mouth and tell some truths to the FUNAI administration. They told us that the President of FUNAI gave the lumbermen license to enter our area, because in this way the FUNAI administration also receives some money. FUNAI is responsible for the timber yard, they sold the timber yard without papers. If FUNAI had not had an interest in the sale of the timber yard, they would have expelled the invaders and my relative would not have died defending the land of the Indians”.

Iabadai is one of the leaders of the Surui, a people numbering 460 persons, who speak the Tupi-monde language and are living in an area covering 240,000 hectares, partly in the Mato Grosso, partly in Rondonia. Iabadai was elected leader about one year ago because he had been against the sale of the timber yard and because of his qualities. He is very young, only about twenty.

There is a sad irony in the fact that the Surui risked their lives and that old Iabner died defending their traditional enemies, the Zoro, with whom they have been at war for ten years. This episode also shows that a new phase has begun, where the indigenous groups from the Aripuana Park region are uniting in order to defend their interests and territories. This joint mobilisation is far from easy or without controversies. They are split up under many different leaders, and the lack of sustainable production for the outside market, together with a bad health situation, makes it tempting to start selling timber again, which will create internal conflicts and divisions.



Map of Chile

Chile: Ad-Mapu's Presentation to the Working Group

Our organisation, Ad-Mapu, is a political and social organisation which demands the survival of our Mapuche people. This presentation will be put in a historical and political context and illustrated with present day examples in order to expose the roots of the conflicts we face today, and we will review the particular importance of our position under a dictatorship. The régime continues the ethnocidal policies applied by the great majority of governments in our history. From the beginning of the Republican Era until the present, the constitutions that have governed our country have entirely negated the existence of the Mapuche; the system which governs us is one of oppression, exploitation and assimilation. This is clearly seen in Decree-Law 2.568 which divides our ancestral territories and therefore tries to divide our people.

We have been relocated and exiled from our own territory. We have been dispersed through seven provinces in South-Central Chile, not to mention the thousands and thousands of our brothers who have had to emigrate to the large cities where the majority of them lose their identity as members of the Mapuche nation. We comprise more the 10 per cent of the total population of Chile.

Decree-Law 2.568 has been applied using all the repressive forces within Chile, resulting in innumerable conflicts within families and within communities. For our people, land is the basis of our physical and cultural existence. Our land was defended by our forefathers in a great struggle which took the form of a war.

Our Huilliches brothers from Osorno and Chiloé are threatened by the fact that their lands could be shortly alienated or sold. The same threat hangs over the Mapuche people. The Pehuenche Mapuche from the region of the Upper Bío-Bío were abandoned between the frontiers of Chile and Argentina in the Andes Mountains. They live in extreme poverty and many are illiterate. The injustice has exceeded all limits in that today attempts are being made to install five hydroelectric dams which will inundate their ancestral lands and destroy the way of life of more than 10,000 Mapuches.

In the provinces of Arauco and Cautín, the communities have been militarised, especially the communities of Coi-Coi and Miquihue. In the former they usurped more than 60 hectares of land using the presence and repression of the military. In the province of Malleco, the Mapuches of the area of Lumaco recovered 5,000 hectares of land during previous administrations. These recuperated lands and their organisation were broken up during this present administration.



Mapuche selling produce in Temuco (photo: Andrew Gray)

The oppressive forces have razed numerous communities, among them Loncoyán Grandes and the Co-operative of Lumaco and Collinque. This has been accompanied by torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment which has resulted in some of our brothers being hurt or killed. They have also forcibly removed so many communities that they are too many to mention them all but there are, for example, the community of Tayos Bajos in the province of Valdivia and the Commune of Panguipulli. In the latter the criminal action left Señora Brígida Herrera with 14 bullets in her body and young children were arrested, including one two-year old child who was detained for one week.

The headquarters of Ad-Mapu, which is situated in Temuco, has been raided, shot at and ransacked by the government's security forces and paramilitary groups which have the government's approval. The Mapuche leaders have been imprisoned, banished and tortured. The president of our organisation is under surveillance which makes it impossible for him to leave the area. In this way, we are unable to forget that many of our brothers have been assassinated, tortured, imprisoned, have disappeared and/or been forced to live in exile.

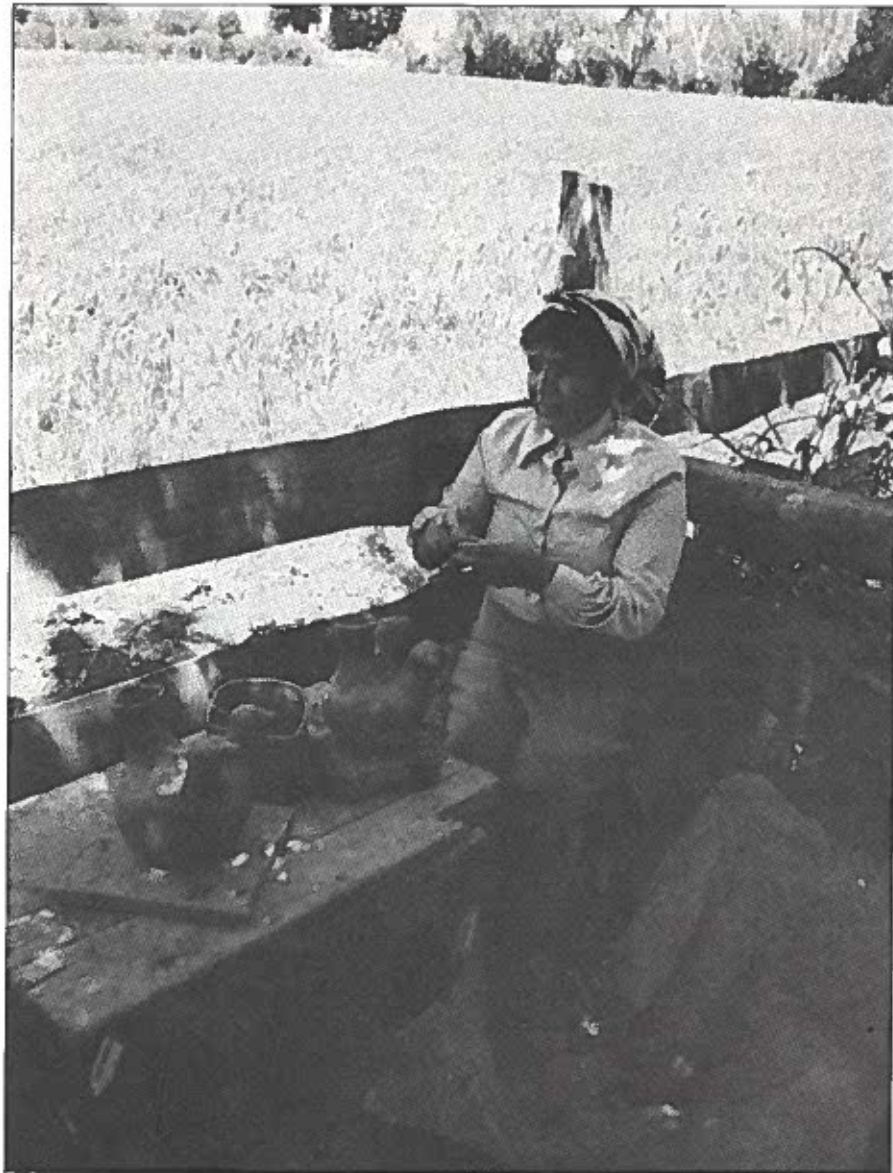
The extent of the penetration of transnational companies is unbelievable. They are buying and exploiting the natural riches of Mapuche territory. In the community of Maiquillahue on the Pacific coast in the province of Valdivia, Japanese companies are exploiting the forestry resources.

On the other hand, over recent years, there has been a proliferation of religious sects. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has a whole infrastructure inside communities, and has gone as far as to sign agreements with universities in the region. The Iranian Bahai sect are in the heart of the community of Labranza and have installed a radio station by means of which they get converts and try to destroy our own form of interpreting the world.

Our people are protagonists in the fight, together with all those who yearn for peace, justice and embrace the cause for the great task of conquering democracy in our country. We do not limit ourselves to understanding the reality, or in lamenting the situation, or burying ourselves in stories of the past, but we assume our rights and learn from the history, and that is why we are moulded in the reality of the right of self-determination for our people.

We will not miss this opportunity to point out the victories which we have won under these adverse conditions. We have recovered almost 2,000 hectares of land in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín and Valdivia with our brothers from Tayos Bajos and Loncoyán Grande among others. Of course, the costs have been high and there have been assassinations, tortures, sacking and shootings because we have taken on and responded to the historic challenges of our Mapuche people.

The recovery of our lands may seem a simple task, but no, in a situation where we are denied our legal rights and we are colonised territorially and ideo-



Mapuche potter (photo: Andrew Gray)

logically, it is not simple. These recoveries show us and give us the strength that tomorrow there will be thousands and thousands of hectares of land recovered. By doing this we are bringing to fruition our great dream of autonomy which has a historical, legal and political foundation. This is expressed in territorial and political autonomy, which we believe are complementary and cannot be separated.

We believe that autonomy is a strategic goal which ought to break down the factors which sustain discrimination and oppression. We demand changes and legal, economic, and political transformation. Lastly, the different aspects of our autonomy will be determined by our own Mapuche people in practice and aided by our historical knowledge.

We Mapuche people are shaping our own destiny because we are convinced that any outside policy will exclude our own competency; nobody is able to understand and explain the situation but the Mapuche ourselves. This ought to be recognised by all of society. Therefore we find ourselves discussing and designing a proposition for a Mapuche Constitution for the new fundamental charter which our patrimony requires.

We are putting our fight and our historical interests in a political context, according to a clear definition of our alliances, and reciprocal respect for each other in a relation of people to people. We are not letting ourselves be miserable because of political and economic paternalism, nor will we negotiate away our identity and the personality of the Mapuche nation because we are certain that we are part of Chilean society, of our continent and of the world. We are ready to learn from other civilisations and to contribute our modest understanding.

The struggle which frees our Mapuche people is the struggle of all the oppressed who demand justice and liberty. We express our solidarity with all the peoples who fight for their emancipation and we greet all the peoples who are building societies where the rights and dignity of all people are respected. We salute all men and women who are imprisoned in different lands for defending their rights and we pay homage to the political prisoners of Chile. On behalf of my organisation and my people we pay homage also to Nelson Mandela.

We propose that from within the system of the United Nations, policies are elaborated to respond to the 5th Centenary which is to celebrate the great triumph of the invaders who were the "beginning of the continent".

Our country will soon face more difficult days as a result of the convulsive political situation that could be the beginning of massive repression of Mapuche and non-Mapuche who demand justice, liberty and democracy. We want to alert the international community to this.

Statement to the UN Working Group, Geneva, 1988



Ecuador: New Conflicts in Huaorani Territory

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) reports that the Huaorani have attacked an Ecuadorian worker from the French geophysical company, CGG, in the Tigüino region.

The president of CONFENIAE, Cristobal Naikiai, a member of the Shuar nation, said that the Tigüino Huaorani, in legitimate self-defence, speared a worker of the CGG on the 30th August 1988. Similar events have happened to other workers from the same company previously while the company has been advancing their seismic prospecting into the area where the Huaorani live.

At the same time the leader of the indigenous organisation told of his worries about an employee of the Ecuadorian State Oil Corporation, CEPE, Enrique Vela, who entered the territory of the Tagaeri (Red Feet) Huaorani together with a squad of armed men intent on genocide.

When the Tagaeri killed Bishop Alejandro Labaka and Sister Inés Arango in July 1987 (see IWGIA Newsletter nos. 51/52), the Company similarly entered the area with firearms in order to "settle the debt of the aucas with Western society."

The representative of CONFENIAE insisted that Enrique Vela had turned the area into a danger zone and because of this the CEPE ought to adopt some way of avoiding a tragedy.

Naikiai also reported that the road which the Engineers Corps is building will very soon divide Huaorani territory in two, encouraging colonisation which threatens the survival of the ethnic minorities of the Amazon region.

CONFENIAE demands that the government stops the oil exploration and that the colonists leave the area. Naikiai remembers that in 1973, when oil exploration was intensified in the Amazon region, four oil workers were killed, three of whom were members of CGG and one was from the Ecuadorian Direction of Mines and Oil. The number of wounded was not determined.

He stressed that, in order to avoid the spilling of more blood, the delimitation of 650,000 hectares of land belonging to the Huaorani ought to be accepted. This is the area that was decreed a Huaorani reserve by the government of Osvaldo Hurtado in 1983.

In the last four years 2,500 families have been allowed to settle in the region and various transnational oil companies have been given authorisation for oil exploration. The Huaorani have seen their territory and their population, which

was estimated twenty years ago to number between 20,000 and 30,000, reduced considerably.

In recent days, Capuchin Father Miguel Angel Cabodevilla, who replaced Bishop Labaka in the Apostolic Vicariate of Aguarico, warned that tourism in the Huaorani area was also a danger which could have grave consequences. Nevertheless, neither the oil authorities nor the tourism authorities have taken any heed.

Source: Diario Hoy, Ecuador, 16.10.88

Ecuador: Indigenous Peoples Denounce the Summer Institute of Linguistic's Intentions to Return

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), in April, denounced the attempt made by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) to return to the country and infiltrate the literacy campaign. SIL was expelled from Ecuador in 1981. The denunciation was made by Cristobal Tapuy, president of CONAIE, the umbrella organisation for all the indigenous organisations of Ecuador.

Tapuy reported that the evangelising organisation, SIL, is trying to legalise its return though, in effect, it never left the country. SIL has applied to the Ministries of Government and Education for permission to take part in the bilingual literacy campaign which the government has planned for the indigenous peoples of the Amazon.

SIL was thrown out on the 22nd of May 1981 by a decree signed by the former president Jaime Roldos, and accused of carrying out divisory activities among the indigenous peoples of the Amazon. SIL is also known as a sect of "Bible Translators" which specialises in literacy through teaching the Bible in vernacular languages.

Tapuy reported that, in spite of the decree, SIL was still operating the lowlands with the consent of the governments of Osvaldo Hurtado and León Febres Cordero. He explained that, in a letter sent by the director of SIL, Glen Turner, to the Ministries of Government and Education, the Summer Institute confirmed that they had been operating in the country at invitation of the presidents Hurtado and Febres. In the same letter, Turner asks the present social-democratic government of Rodrigo Borge to endorse this authorisation and permit them to participate in the literacy campaign which will begin in the next few months throughout the whole country.

CONAIE sent a letter to the Minister of Government, Andres Vallejo, and to the Solicitor General of Ecuador, Fidel Jaramillo, which indicates that SIL's presence is illegal and demands the enforcement of the executive decree and sanctions against those who break it. CONAIE adds that SIL's presence constitutes "a threat to national sovereignty" and calls for all workers and grassroots organisations to reject the "neocolonialist" initiatives of SIL. "The presence of SIL denigrates the dignity of our country; it is just one more colonisation", says Tapuy.

The leader indicated that even if SIL abandons its bases in the Amazon, it still remains in other parts of the country carrying out different "camouflaged" activities with other evangelical sects such as Wings of Succor, Padrino Plan, World Vision and its own evangelical radio station, HCJB.

"SIL sows disunity between indigenous peoples. We do not want it in Ecuador," emphasised Tapuy.

Source: IPS, April 1989.

Greenland: Publication of Human Rights Instruments in Greenlandic – A Proposal for a Greenlandic Handbook on Human Rights

By Jens Brøsted

1. The Human Rights Committee, which, among other things, is charged with supporting and supervising the member states in their observance of the UN-Convention of 1966 on civil and political rights, dealt with Denmark's second periodic report in the autumn, 1987.

In connection with the discussion of the effective implementation of the obligations under the Convention, the Committee raised the question on November 16th of whether the text of the Convention had been translated into Greenlandic. The Danish Government representatives replied that the translation was not yet ready, but that inquiries would be made as to when it would be completed.(1) (Denmark signed the Convention on March 20th 1968, ratified it January 6th 1972, and on March 23rd 1976 the Convention became effective.) During the final review of the report the Committee expressed general satisfaction with the information received from Denmark. It was regretted, though, that one single question was left unanswered, namely the one concerning the Greenlandic translation of the Convention.(2)

2. A somewhat different theory about the question was put forward simultaneously by the head of the Justice Department's Legal Division (3) during the 4th Nordic Seminar on Human Rights. Here the question of the European Convention, its use and its possible incorporation into internal Danish law was up for discussion.

In connection with the usual statement of Danish practice, which involves prior investigations into whether future international commitments correspond with current Danish Law, I could not help noticing, 1) that apparently no one had looked into whether the convention was in accordance with Danish-Greenlandic Law, and 2) that the convention had never been proclaimed in Greenlandic.

The head of the Legal Division dismissed this point claiming that Greenland had been a colony then, which made the legal commitments rather unclear, and that it did not matter whether the convention had been proclaimed in Greenlandic. The important thing was that it had been officially proclaimed in the Danish Legal Times, *Lovtidende*.



Greenlander (photo: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

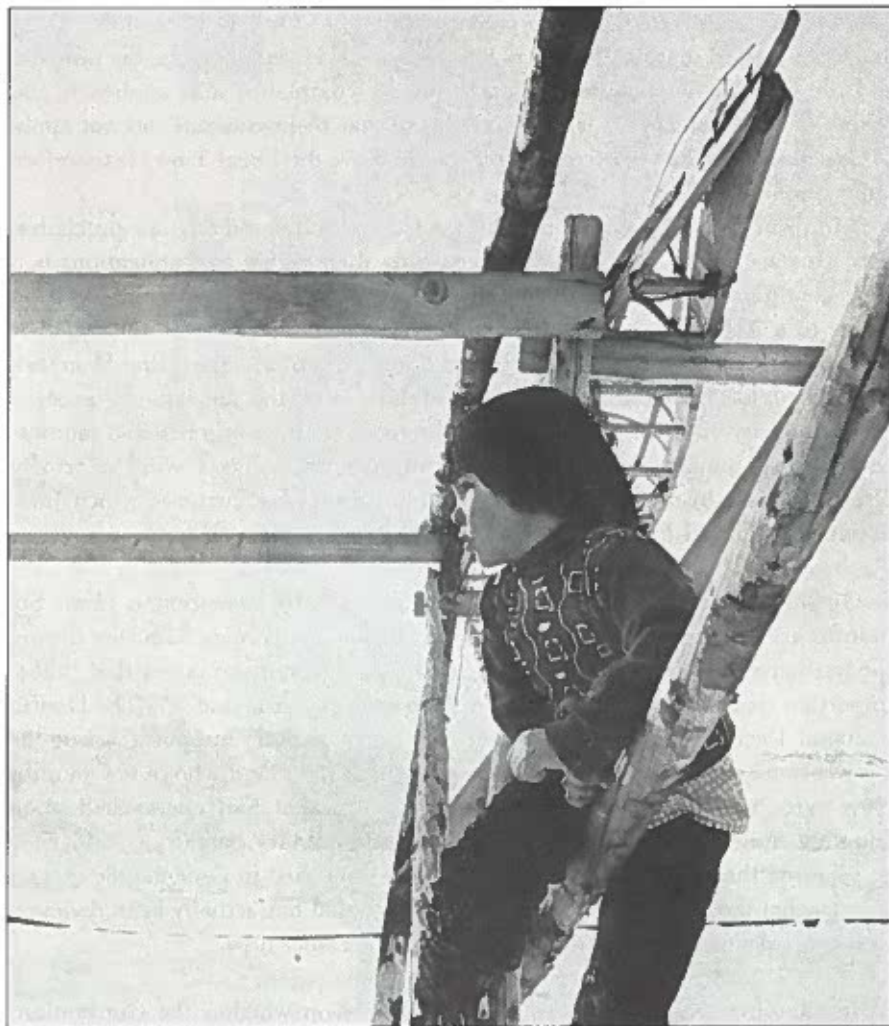
3. Of course both statements are patently wrong: a) On April 7th, 1953, Denmark proclaimed that the European Convention on Human Rights, the protocol and the Commission's authorisation to receive complaints also applied to the colony of Greenland.(4) It is also noteworthy that b) Lovtidende did not apply to Greenland. (5) As a source for Greenlandic Law, the Legal Times is therefore quite unreliable.

In principle it is a question of the consideration behind any law proclamation: citizens access to information regarding their rights and obligations is a basic condition for judicial protection. One can reflect on whether the omission is due to a regrettable error, but this assumption is weakened by the fact that **none of the central international instruments on human rights that Denmark has ratified, has been published in Greenlandic.**(6) Is this not rather a question of the duplicity visible in Danish policy, aiming at an unbesmirched and unlimited support of human rights externally in international agencies, while internally Greenland has been isolated from prevailing post war currents which have decolonisation and human rights as key elements.

4. Greenland's position in relation to the European Convention is clear. Six months prior to the amendment of the Constitution the Foreign Minister, during the parliamentary debate on the question of ratification, proposed that "these important treaties should also apply to the people of Greenland".(7) The Danish Colonial Declaration was passed with full parliamentary support.(8) But the Convention was not announced to the people of Greenland who, a few months later, were informed that the very same government had encroached upon Inughuit hunting in order to expand the Thule military base.(9)

Seeing that the Convention has not been published in Greenlandic it is no wonder that the only complaint from Greenland that has actually been reviewed in the organs of the Convention was filed by a Dane.(10)

5. In choosing between the two Danish theories on whether the Conventions should be published or not, there is hardly any doubt. The International Human Rights agencies stress the importance of the effective implementation of human rights. At the opening of the 1988 session of the subcommission of the Commission on Human Rights on August 8th, Jan Mårtenson, UN Under-Secretary General for Human Rights, spoke of the "essential triangle" in the relationship between legislation, implementation and information on Human Rights. (11) In its third general comment to the 1966 Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the Human Rights Committee stresses that "the member states have committed themselves to ensure that all individuals under their jurisdiction enjoy these rights". In this connection it is very important that individuals should know their



Greenlandic child (photo: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

rights as laid down by the Convention: "To this end, the Covenant should be published in all official languages of the State".(12)

In May, 1988, a meeting was held in Stockholm aiming at a specification of the UN programme for advisory services and technical assistance in the implementation of the international conventions on human rights. The basis of the meeting was the Resolution 1988/54 from the UN Commission on Human Rights concerning consultative aid.(13) The Stockholm meeting led to a set of

recommendations concerning advisory services, of which item 8-14 dealt with public information. Recommendation 9 stresses that the governments, as parties to the human rights conventions, have definite obligations in this matter, and that they should ensure translations and wide distribution of the key conventions. "As a concrete target" recommendation 11 suggests that major human rights instruments should be translated "into languages that most people can understand". Item 13 stresses the need for comprehensive or manual-like information:

13. Besides translating and disseminating the human rights instruments, the UN should compile and make widely available information materials on the functioning of the various complaints procedures and on how individuals and NGO's can effectively make use of them.

Together with the passing of the Resolution on Advisory Services, the UN Commission on Human Rights once again in its resolution 1988/74 on public information in the human rights field "reaffirmed" the need for materials on human rights to be made available in a clear and accessible form in "national and local languages", and that "isolated areas" among other audiences are given priority in the distribution of information.(15)

6. For a long time the Law of Greenland and the Faroe Islands has been largely neglected by legal science and education in Denmark. The division of the kingdom into three judicial areas is neither reflected in the composition of the Committee on Judicial Reform nor in its report.(16) One can only hope that future initiatives will make up for this. One task, that could certainly be carried out at a very early stage, is the production of a "Greenlandic Handbook on Human Rights", which, if adapted to Greenlandic conditions, could collate the texts and serve as a guide to how the system works. Would the 40th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration be a suitable occasion for commencing this task?

Notes

1. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights document, CCPR/C/SR.778 para. 24 & 25; The Danish representatives were Head of Division, Martin Kofod, R.IV, The Foreign Ministry, and Bo Vesterdorf who was then administrative head for the Legal Division of the Ministry of Justice.
2. CCPR/C/SR.781 para. 38.
3. Asbjørn Jensen who is currently Director of Public Prosecutions.
4. Eur. CHR Yearbook, Vol. 1,45, confer "Lovtidende" (The Legal Times) C 1953,216).

5. See "Folketingets Ombudsmands Beretning" (Report of the Ombudsman of the Danish Parliament), 1980, 740.
6. During the compilation of the manuscript the UN Information Office for the Nordic countries published a Greenlandic version of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Declaration on December 10th 1988. This is in accordance with the publication of the Declaration in the Indian languages Aymara, Quechua and Guarani carried out by UNESCO to further the knowledge of the Human Rights.
7. "Rigsdagstidende" (Parliamentary Reports) 1952-53, "Folketinget", 1392, cf. "Landstinget" 694: "should declare that these important treaties should also apply to the people of Greenland".
8. Same place B 429f and the reply of the Foreign Minister to the committee in document 2, on the attitude of the Ministry of State, column 434. For further details see the negotiations in "Folketinget", 1403, 1412f, 1420, 1428f, 1437, 1442f, 1446, 2. 3496, 3497; and "Landstinget" 697, 698, 699, 700.
9. Jens Brøsted and Mads Fægteborg: Thule - fangerfolk of militæranlæg. En retlig - historisk undersøgelse af Thule basens anlæggelse, Thules flytning og befolkningens erstatningskrav. DJØF's Forlag, 1985, 2. extended edition 1987, Greenlandic edition: Thule - inuiaat piniartuusut sakkutooqarfillu. Akademisk Forlag, 1988. "Expulsion of the Great People. When U.S. Air Force Came to Thule. An Analysis of Colonial Myth and Actual Incidents", in Brøsted et. al., eds., Native Power, The Quest for Autonomy and Nationhood of Indigenous Peoples, Universitetsforlaget, Bergen, Oslo, Stavanger, Tromsø, 1985. See also Lars Nordskov Nielsen's review: "Thule Inughuit Moved by Force" in IWGIA Newsletter, No. 45, April 1986, pp.73-85, with update p.85-90.
10. The Barfod Case Eur. CHR App. 11508/85.
11. Author's notes from the session.
12. CCPR/C/21.
13. E/1988/12; E/CN.4/1988/88, p. 120f.
14. Recommendations published in "Mennesker og Rettigheder", no. 4, 1988, pp.60f.
15. E/1988/12; E/CN.4/1988/88, p. 156, item 5.
16. Danish Public Report, Betænkning no. 1062/85 on a reform of the law study.

Hawai'i: Lahui Hawai'i - The Nation of Hawai'i

By Mililani Trask

It is a tradition among Hawaiians that when you have a *kuka* session, a sort of talk-story session, it is appropriate to say something about yourself. And so I thought that I would begin in that way.

I am a Native Hawaiian, which means that I am a Hawaiian person of fifty per cent blood quantum or more. That is the definition that the American government has created to recognise certain of its indigenous people. As a Native person you have certain legal entitlements to land. But some Hawaiians are not recognised as that by Federal law. They may either not have the blood quantum or they are Native Hawaiians according to the traditional genealogy without being able to present the documentation in Western terms. Many Native Hawaiians were not born in hospitals and Native Hawaiians do not have a cultural practice of registering their children; consequently we have many Native people who are of fifty per cent blood, or full blood, but who do not have the *palapala*, the certificate, to prove it. Under American law, those people are not Hawaiians and do not have any land entitlements.

I am 36 years old, I am an attorney and I have a license to practice in the State and the Federal courts of the State of Hawai'i and I do practice to a limited extent. I went to the Kamehameha School for Women on a scholarship. It is a Protestant academy, the only one of its kind in the State of Hawai'i. It was set up with revenues from a trust by the last reigning monarch, who was dethroned in 1893, and who had the foresight to establish it for purposes of educating our people. I am one of the fortunate few who graduated with this scholarship. I went to California for eight years to undergraduate school and then to law school because I wanted to get a legal degree and utilise it for purposes of rectifying some of the social problems that exist in Hawai'i.

I was very shocked to learn, when I returned home in 1978, that Native Hawaiian people are not allowed to go into either the State or the Federal court system in America for purposes of seeking redress of their grievances. We are the only remaining group in the United States of America that is deprived of this basic constitutional right. Anyone else who has a property interest or any other legal right is entitled to go into a court of law and to demand a trial by jury. For the last five years we have lobbied in the State Legislature for a statute that would give us that right. We have not yet been successful, but in the State

to the State of Hawai'i, to be held in public trust for the general public and also for the Natives. This was done in 1959. In 1978 the Native people had not received a single acre of the land set aside for us. We have not received any money from the trust either. It generates about 1.7 million dollars annually.

Under American Trust Law, with the upper trust created for two beneficiaries, the assets of the trust, and the revenues, are supposed to be equally divided among the beneficiaries. At the present time all of the lands and revenues are used for the public. Twelve per cent of the revenues are paid out to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which is a State agency that was patterned after the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And it pays their bureaucratic costs. It pays their rent, the salaries of the State agents, but it does not come through the State agency to the people. It goes into schools, it goes into the public deficit, building of roads, maintaining the public facilities. It is the State's view of the public trust that the Natives are also part of the public, so there is no reason to segregate neither moneys nor land for the Natives; they can benefit by virtually being members of the public. That is the legal reasoning. They are very paranoid about the argument that Natives would like to have fifty per cent of the trust. But we cannot get a court to interpret it, because we can not get access to the court.

The Hawaiian Homestead Lands were created in 1920. We were still a Federal Territory at that time. From 1920 to 1987 we have settled - the State has settled - about 43-45,000 acres of land. The remaining 150,000 acres of land are used for public parks, airports, public schools, missile launching facilities, nuclear storage facilities, public roadways, and for every purpose other than homesteading our people.

We prevailed upon the United States' Congress to have an investigation of this trust land here. In 1982 the President of the United States appointed a ten member commission to investigate the situation and to report to Congress. We were able to have the investigative panel convened because the Civil Rights Commission for the Western Division of the United States of America reported to Congress that they believed that there were flagrant violations of the civil rights of the Native people. I was one of the ten appointed commissioners. We were supposed to investigate for three months - it took us nine, and that is a long time to work without getting paid; I had to close down my law practice. But it was worth it.

What we determined in the end was that there were 16,000 Hawaiian families, who were currently on waiting lists for trust lands. From 1920 to 1983, we had an estimate that 30,000 families had died, waiting. An average Hawaiian family has six to eight children, so from 1920 to 1983 180,000 to 240,000 people died, waiting for legal entitlements.

The History of the Hawaiian People

Hawai'i was the first Pacific Island Nation to join the Family of Nations. In 1778, when Captain Cook sailed in, there were about six million Native Hawaiians living in the archipelago. In the period from 1778 to 1893, Hawai'i became literate, we had one hundred per cent education, capacity to read, and capacity to write Hawaiian language. We had 17 international treaties of commerce and friendship because we were at the crossroads of the Pacific.

We did not have a centralised form of tribal governing structure. It is important to stress that because most nations and indigenous people have centralised mechanisms for government. The Native Hawaiian people had a system of blood line ruling chiefs, from various districts, and we had a religious code, a moral and an ethical code, which everyone followed. We did not need a centralised form of government. It is hard to harken back to a time when we did not need a County, a State or a Federal government, but for time immemorial, the Hawaiian people did not need that.

When Captain Cook sailed in, all those things changed. A very close relationship was established between the Native Hawaiian people and the government of Britain. In British museums you will see all the cultural artifacts of our people. Those things were not stolen, they were given as a result of a treaty of friendship and commerce.

In 1893, the United States' government embarked upon a position of expanding in the Pacific, and at that time, they funded a group of American businessmen, who were headed by Stanford B. Dole, the first Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i. He was in charge of the overthrow of the Queen. American gunboats sailed down, marines presented their guns, and because it is the cultural tradition of our people not to fight with other nations, the monarchy of Hawai'i ceded its land to the American government, there to be held in trust, until American justice would take its course and the Native people would be restored their losses.

We are still waiting for American justice to take its course. Our rights to self-determination and self-governance have not been restored by the American Congress, and they have not been restored by the State of Hawai'i. Given the socio-economic profile of our people, the health status, the Native people have realised that we cannot wait any longer.

Living Conditions

In 1986, we completed a five year statistical study looking at the health needs of the Native Hawaiian people. There are 180,000 persons of Hawaiian blood in

a one million population in the State of Hawai'i, that is 18 per cent of the state population. The health statistics of our people indicate that we have the highest rate of death of any minority group in the United States of America, from cancer, diabetes, heart disease, and in addition the highest rate of maternal and infant mortality. Many people live in shacks on the beach, they do not have running water, electricity, toilets, but have to go to public facilities. And whenever Native people, who are viewed as being squatters, go out and set up areas, the County and the State come down and turn off the water and shut off the electricity, which further complicates the problem.

What has occurred in many instances of Native people settling upon Native lands throughout our State, is that people get arrested, they are not able to put up bail, they can not come with the *kala*. So they have to sit in jail. Sometimes they sit for a few days, sometimes for a few weeks. When parents are arrested, the State comes in and takes the children, places them in foster homes, and makes them wards of the State. So the epilogue is that these people pay, not only by being arrested and tried and convicted for trespass upon Native lands, but also by having their children taken from them. If a Native American Indian child is taken from her parents, for whatever reason, sexual abuse, neglect, abandonment, Federal law requires that that child be placed with an Indian family, in order to preserve cultural continuity. Native Hawaiian people do not have those rights. The children are taken from their parents by the family court, made wards of the State, and placed with *haole* families, White families, or maybe with Asian families. One of the things I am, in my work as an attorney, is a court appointed guardian at the family court. When Hawaiian children are taken from their parents, I go into court and ask the court appoint me as a guardian. The children do not live with me, but legally I have the responsibility to provide for them, and at least in that context, we can assure that they live with Hawaiians. There are about twelve Native Hawaiian attorneys now, in the State, and we have forty Native Hawaiian doctors and nurses, psychiatrists and others. So there are some Native people who have education. We have the capacity to do something, but very little, for our people. Twelve attorneys can not do a great deal for 180,000 Native people.

We have the same problems, basically, as many Native American Indians do. We have 18 per cent of the state population, we have about 30 per cent of the prison population and we have 60 per cent of juvenile crime, children taken out of their homes for different reasons.

At the present time we have about 20,000 Hawaiian children between the ages of 12 and 17, who have never been in school. We have a very low educational rate. Compared with the 1800s, we are really going backwards. And it is directly attributive to the fact that we are not self-governing people.

Over a period of several years, we have gathered research. We include many Hawaiians, some work for the State, some work for private industries, some do not have a job. We have had what are called *huis*, gatherings of people from all over the islands, and we meet periodically for *halawai*, which are Native *kuka* sessions, meetings, so that the Native leaders can come and discuss various things. Sometimes they are just outlets for emotions, sometimes various tactics dominate discussions. What are we going to do about Sand Island? What about housing? What about these thirty kids who are now in the family court? Sometimes it is very general. We look at health legislation and other types of things.

For about five years we have sort of been enjoying a great cultural renaissance. As a result of acts of civil disobedience, there has been a great wealth of Hawaiian cultural events happening. Ten years ago we had only ten remaining *halau*, traditional schools of the *hula*. Now we have 150 *hulahalau* that regularly dance.

With language it has been a slow recovery. We went through one generation where the language was outlawed. From the time of the Queen's overthrow, for about fifty years, we could neither speak nor write in the Hawaiian language because the Territory was dominated by Westerners that could not speak Hawaiian, and they were concerned that there might be treasonous talk against the government. When you go through a period like that, it breaks the language. But now we have succeeded in getting it into the curriculum in certain private schools. There is a Hawaiian Studies Department, of which my sister, Haunani-Kay, is the first tenured professor. So now we have Hawaiian language at college level. We also have set up three *keiki* language schools with private grant money. We take the *keikes* from two years old to five, and the parents have to come with them to school. We have not been able to get into the schools in the public system yet, but we are working on it. It is important.

Now people are saying that if we can handle language schools, if we can bring back the *halaus*, the schools of dance and chant, from ten to over 150, we can do many things.

The Constitution

The dialoguing and the networking has brought everyone to the understanding that you cannot relate with the Western system unless you structure a representative government because that is how the Western law perceives things. So we have to have a constitution. Although Hawaiians have an oral tradition we have to write a Bill of Rights, put it down, so that they can appreciate with their legal minds.

In 1983, we decided that it was time to rectify the situation, by putting

together a mechanism for self-governance. And we worked on this, theoretically, politically, discussing for two years. In 1985, we learned that the State of Hawai'i was going to declare 1987 to be the Year of the Hawaiian, for purposes of funding, fueling and generating more tourist industry income. We also learned that the American Congress was declaring 1987 to be the 200th Birthday of the Constitution of the United States of America. When we looked at that, we were not able to determine what the Native people would be celebrating for themselves in 1987, and we decided that we would come forward in 1987 to convene a Constitutional Convention of Native Hawaiian people, from every community across our State. We commenced planning this in 1985. We did not receive and we did not apply for a single dollar from the State or Federal government. In our minds self-determination means self-sufficiency and that means that the Native people demonstrate their capacity to be self-sufficient, to structure their government.

There are only about 30 of the 500 sovereign Indian entities that have their own constitution. The other 470 made the critical mistake of asking the Bureau of Indian Affairs to write their constitutions for them, so they have constitutions that have left out major things like provisions for the traditional right to worship and provisions for Native hunting and fishing rights. As a result of this, Native Indian groups have to waste ten or fifteen years in the Federal court to litigate hunting and fishing rights and rights to worship. We determined that we needed to structure our own government, because the Federal and the State governments obviously were not going to do it for us.

And so in January 1987 we convened a Constitutional Convention at a Catholic parish on the island of Hawai'i, and it was attended by 250 Native delegates from all over the State of Hawai'i, from every island. Even from the smallest island where we only have 2,000 people, from Ni'ihau, people came, from Lana'i. The *'opio* and the *kupuna*. The elders and the younger ones as well. We did not have a great deal of money, but we did have a great deal of grassroot support. We had to sell bread, hundreds of thousands of loaves of bread, to get money for transport; we are an Island Nation, so whenever we meet we have to fly all the people in, we do not paddle canoes between islands anymore.

It is very difficult to get 250 Native Hawaiians to come to an agreement on anything, and we had meetings from seven o'clock in the morning until one or two o'clock in the morning. There was a great deal of discussion and debate. Restructuring a nation and writing a constitution took a lot more time than we had anticipated, so we had to have the committee work for two months more and we returned for another five days in March, at the close of which time the Constitution was enacted.

We had to start from the beginning. We went back to our traditional constitution, where we had left off in 1893, and from that we took certain provisions.



A nation betrayed

The people voted to retain the very basic premise that the Hawaiian Nation would be dedicated to and founded upon principles of disarmament, peace, and equity.

Western constitutions generally begin with the statement that people are created equally, as individuals under God. That they have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But the premise of the Hawaiian Constitution is that all people and all nations shall be equal and that those who govern have a responsibility to protect and maintain the rights of the people to act as guardians of the land. The philosophy of our people is that all beings are equal, whether animal, plant or human being, and that it is the responsibility of the *kanaka*, of the Native person, to be the guardian of the sacred land. In making laws, it is the decision and the responsibility of the government to tend to the trust of the people and also to maintain the land. That was taken in its entirety and placed in our Constitution.

There were certain modern adaptations that had to be made. You have a constitution from 1893 talking about disarmament; what would you do in 1987, where you have a great proliferation of nuclear and military facilities on Native land? Consequently we had to adopt certain provisions in the constitution, and some of these declare that the Native lands shall be nuclear free and independent.

We reject the definition of the American government that only those of 50 per cent blood quantum are entitlemanted to land, and we have defined our people as being persons, without respect to blood quantum.

We have four branches of the government. We have 50 or less delegates in the Legislature who are elected from the Native people throughout our State. By now there are 43 delegates, 21 are female.

The executive branch consists of three people: the *kia'aina*, or Governor, to which I am elected for a two year term; the Lieutenant Governor, who is a male, and the Secretary of the Nation, who is female.

We have a judiciary branch. The Constitution provides that the judges of the people shall be of Native blood and they shall be elected by people of their region. We have not yet had an election for the judges; it takes a while to have an election, you have to raise capital to print ballots.

The fourth branch of the government is called the *ali'i nui*, the highest of the chiefs. Sitting in council for purposes of advising the Legislature and the Executive are blood chiefs of our people, and there are many from all of the islands. At the present time the highest blood ranking chief is female, and so she is seated as *ali'i nui*. Traditionally, the blood chiefs ruled and their word was law, they had the power of life and death. However, after Captain Cook landed, it was certain of the ruling chiefs, who made agreements with the West. Hawaiian lands were

given by the chiefs in return for guns and cannons, and it was with Western weaponry, the coming of violence, that the Hawaiian Islands were united. Although more than two hundred years have elapsed, the people were very fearful of allowing any real power to the blood chiefs, and so the fourth branch of government, the *ali'i nui*, exists for purposes of advising us on matters of culture and protocol, language and Native crafts. The ruling blood chiefs of our people have not been given the right to make or to beat a law. Law is made by the Legislature in a democratic process.

We have also provisions for initiative referendums and records, if people demand that. The Native people want to be able to make their own laws by petition, they want to be able to beat a law by petition, and they want to be able to pass petitions to yank any of us out of office.

We are the last of the Native American people to form a self-governing entity. The American rules for recognising a Native person do not fit Pacific Islanders; for instance: Have you entered into trade and intercourse with other Indian tribes? We never did, four thousand miles out in the Pacific, we have never traded wampum-beads with the Navajo..

Militarisation

Of the Hawaiian Home Lands and the Native lands, 1.43 million acres and 190,000 acres, tens of thousands of acres are currently being used for military facilities, training facilities, nuclear storage facilities. The 10,000 acres of land on Big Island that the *haole* call South Point, because it is the southernmost tip of the United States of America, lies only a few hundred miles away from the Equator. Hawaiians call it Ka Lae. It is a sacred place of our people, there are great *heiaus* there, temples of stone, and it is from this place that our ancestors sailed to Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is from here that the Pacific migrations left and they all look to Hawai'i as being their Motherland.

These 10,000 acres of Hawaiian Home Lands were set aside in 1920, but not a single Hawaiian is living there, although I have several clients I am trying to represent in the Federal court. The United States Congress has determined that South Point should be the site of NASA Pacific, the primary base for Mr. Reagan's plans to have Star Wars facilities in the State of Hawai'i. Already we have a small Star Wars tracking station on the island of Kaua'i, but they determined that it would be impossible to have major military satellite launching from that site in the future, because the weather is too cold and because it is too far from the Equator to get the benefit of the spin of the Earth, when they launch. Consequently they have identified Hawaiian Home Lands at South Point as being the most appropriate place in the United States to create a NASA Pacific

base. We are very concerned with this decision. By our Constitution we have declared our lands to be nuclear free, and we have set about on a course for disarmament and peace. This type of military expansion not only creates a lot of fear in our hearts but it is the kind of military and nuclear expansion that comes right down in *your* life. The Star Wars facilities will be based all around the World, but they will be headquartered in Hawai'i. We can not go to court to say: "We are a Native people, and this is Native land, we wish to live on it." But we can certainly drag out every other Federal law that might relate to it, including the Federal environmental laws. In this way we might be able to hold the thing up for a few years.

Federal Response

We wrote to the Hawaiian Senator in the United States' Congress, Daniel Inouye. He is also the Chair of the Indian Select Committee, a committee on Indian affairs and next year he will be the Chair of the Ways and Means Committee of the US Congress, of which he is currently a seated member. He has been on the Commission for Military Uses, since the sixties. Dan Inouye has been in Federal Congress for over 30 years. He is a hawk. During the time of Vietnam war, he pulled out all these Hawaiian Home Lands for military bases.

When we heard that he just had been made the chair of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, I wrote to him as the *kia'aina* that because Hawaiians are excluded from Federal policies for self-determination, we have taken the incentive to put together a mechanism for self-governance, and we would like to have a government-to-government meeting with him. He did not respond.

Subsequently we contacted several major American Indian tribes and their attorneys and told them that we could not open a dialogue with Mr. Inouye, so instead, we would like to have a seminar in the State on Native self-determination. And we invited all of the big Indian attorneys from across the United States, people who had won millions of dollars for Native American Indians, people who had written major pieces of legislation.

When Senator Inouye heard this, he cancelled the Irangate hearings and flew to Hawai'i with his Washington staff to have *halawai* with us. We brought in many of the Hawaiian groups to meet with him. On August 31st we had a four hour session. We told him about the law, the deprivation, the health statistics, the illegal uses of Hawaiian Home Lands. We told him that we would like to be self-determining, that we were not asking and we were not a separatist movement. Perhaps in one generation, we would take that step, but at the present time, we were simply requesting parity with other Native American Indi-

ans. In the year of the 200th celebration of the American constitution, what could be more appropriate?

Dan Inouye, after four hours, said that he had no comment. He said that he would listen, he would contemplate what we had told him, and that we would have follow-up meetings with his staff. This staff told us that the Senator had read the Constitution; that the Senator was very perturbed about two of the provisions in the Constitution, which he would like us to take out. The reference to disarmament was not acceptable. The reference to a nuclear free and independent archipelago was also of great concern to him. They offered us this: firstly, they would like us to retract our request for self-determination and Federal recognition of ourselves as a sovereign entity, and instead they would pass Federal legislation that would recognise the two State agencies that currently control our trusts as being the Nation of Hawai'i. Secondly, they requested that we would agree to the State negotiating leases and uses of Hawaiian Native lands in perpetuity, for military bases.

It is a cultural tradition of our people that we would have balance maintained, and already, we have lost so much. We are not in a position to negotiate on disarmament or nuclear free provisions in our Constitution. Maybe you can negotiate on housing, health, how much money you are going to have, what is the plan to rehabilitate the people, but when it comes to peace and disarmament there is no such a thing as a little bit of peace or a little bit of war.

For several years we have been co-operating with certain of the Native American Indian people. And we have contacts with the Native American Rights Fund, the American Indian Lawyer Training Programme and others. It has been difficult though. The Federal Government set aside money for Native American education. All of the Indian tribes are on the list to receive a portion of it. In the past, when certain Hawaiian groups had been successful in asking for educational funding, what happened was that the percentage of money given to the Indians was diminished accordingly, and so there has been a great deal of fighting over who is going to suck the Federal tits. But we are overcoming that now. We went to the Indian Federal Bar, where Mr. Inouye's representative promised that they would no longer diminish Indian revenues by providing for Hawaiians. Hopefully it means that we will have an independent source of funding. But so far we have not seen anything.

Local Response

We send out the Constitution to everyone, and we have had meetings with State Senators and Members of the House, but we have not had any meetings with the Executive of the State of Hawai'i. We sent the Constitution to the Governor,

and the President of the Senate, and with it a little letter saying that we would like to meet with them so that we could discuss it. We have not received a response to any of our correspondences yet, but the current Governor of the State of Hawai'i was very concerned about it, when Senator Inouye came down. The Governor is the first Hawaiian Native ever to be Governor. He was born and raised on Hawaiian Homesteading Lands and he campaigned extensively in Hawaiian community. Now he has gotten in, we have not heard from him, but he will be up for re-election in about a year and a half.

Unfortunately our people generally view not voting as a political act, because when the Queen was overthrown, in order for Native Hawaiians to vote in the Provisional or the Territorial Governments, you had to swear an oath of allegiance against the Queen and in favour of the Republic, and at that time, the Hawaiian people went from a 90 per cent voting rate to less than ten per cent. And that tradition continues. It makes it easy for token Hawaiians to get in.

Because it was the Year of the Hawaiian, certain press agents from every newspaper were assigned to cover Hawaiian activities. So we did get some coverage of the Convention. We have had some follow-up from the press there, but it is misrepresenting us. Once in a while we have television coverage, but you have to have bulldozers, you have to have at least a few arrests, some houses being burned down, or something, to make it on the news.

Tensions

The American system is checks and balances; a person has a problem with the law and avoids violence by going into the court system. When you are not allowed the right to go into court in the American system, the only alternative that you have is civil disobedience.

Many of the acts of civil disobedience are to stop development. The establishment are using lands for hotels, for airports, for Western development. The tourist industry in Hawai'i is a multi-million dollar industry. Time Magazine recently reported that of all the duty-free shops in the World, the one that makes the most, is in the State of Hawai'i.

American Indians, for years, have carried their guns. They have had major shoot-outs. Blacks have done the same things, the Puerto Ricans, even the Asians have taken to the gun in America. That is how we had the civil rights in the past. Chicago and L.A. had to burn for a few summers, and 43 Black Panthers had to be shotgunned to death before the United States' Congress passed civil rights acts so that Black people could vote in the United States. Never have our people resorted to that, we have always maintained the *la'i* on what is our cultural practice. We cannot negotiate that point.

Everything has been taken from us. Our language for many years was outlawed, they have taken our ability to be self-supporting, to be self-sufficient, to worship in a Native way, to gather, to practice, to live a village lifestyle; all these things have been destroyed. But the one thing that they have not taken is the final badge of what is our dignity, it is our cultural practice to maintain peace, to speak for disarmament.

Now many people are advising us to take the gun, but we are not going to do it. About three months ago, we had the first incidence when Hawaiian people took the gun. They said: "We can't work with the State, we can't work with the Feds, we can't go to court, we can't have our lands." They took their guns, went to some abandoned property, and set up barricades. There were about forty of them, twenty were children. They stayed out there for a couple of weeks and they called to speak with the Governor, but he would not go up there. He dispatched the Honolulu SWAT Team, which is a paramilitary outfit that has been put together in the last five or six years. It is comprised of county police as well as military police. They have got everything, Uzi machine-guns, helicopters. Whenever we have demonstrations they come in. They can come and beat our people, they can take guns and knives against us, but we are dignified, and we do not bend to the level of the White man. We are guardians of the sacred Earth, and it is a hard vow to hold.

We had to call together the leadership and go up there and take away their guns. It was difficult negotiating with them. They said: "You're an attorney, you're having meetings with Inouye, he won't talk with us!" I said: "I talked with him for four hours, he slammed the door in my face. But I'll tell you one thing, I'm not gonna have my children, my brothers and sisters killed with this. That's exactly what they want, they wanna push us, like they push the Black people, and like the push the American Indians, so that they can have an excuse to slaughter our people. But we will not pay that price." Finally we convinced our Hawaiian brothers and sisters to lay the guns down and come out and bring the children with them. We did not have an act of violence, but we came very close to it.

It is hard to come up with a response to people who are living in poverty, who do not have an education, who got a lot of problems with alcoholism and drug abuse. These are social indicators, we have to live with. Violence rears its head up, you cannot always be sure to pull the plug on it.

As a result of that, we had a legislative session, where the Legislators of the Nation authorised and directed me to go to the United Nations, to London, to IWGIA, to meet with other people, to inform, to bring the Constitution. We are concerned that if there is not some international expression on our behalf, if

there is not education and consciousness-raising in another arena, then, eventually, violence will succeed.

It has been a long labour for our people, a long and a difficult labour for more than hundred years, to finally come to the point where we say that we are self-determining, that we have a Native Government, that we are democratic and that we would like the rights that America affords to its other indigenous people, the Native Indian people. We have a saying that "a difficult birth does not make the baby any less beautiful." Our labour has been long but our Nation is now conceived and brought forth, and we are dedicated to it. But we cannot stand alone against the United States, and against people like Daniel Inouye. The relocation of American Indians finally stopped, because people from other countries sent observers, papers were published and a great dialogue was generated among America's allies. It embarrassed the United States into stopping that kind of activity. For this reason, we are showing information, we are looking for help. We do not want to create the impression that we have the capacity to do it on our own. But we are committed to what we are doing, and we believe that if there can be 500 independent Indian Nations, there can certainly be one more.

Mililani Trask has played an instrumental role in the development of the current Hawaiian movement for political and cultural autonomy and in the establishment of the Nation of Hawai'i, the first state-wide organisation of Hawaiian peoples into a single political unit whose goal is to establish a politically autonomous community directly under the Federal government, with lands that are legally accessible to Hawaiians, but presently denied to them.

This article was given as information at a press conference at IWGIA's office in Copenhagen, November 11, 1987. Copies of the Constitution and fact sheets on the Nation of Hawai'i are available at IWGIA.

Honduras: Indians Fight for Law to Protect Ethnicity

Leaders from several indigenous Honduran groups have begun discussion of a Draft Bill that would create a national institute dedicated to the defence of their ethnic heritage.

Nestor Rodriguez, an official of the Honduran Advisory Council for the Development of Native Ethnicities (CAHDEA), said that the Draft Bill, which will be submitted for Congressional approval within the next few months, was the focal point of a third meeting of ethnic groups held here recently. The 77-Article Draft Bill calls for a special legal system for Honduras' 500,000 indigenous people, who represent just over 10 per cent of the country's total population of 4.5 million.

The law must protect "the indigenous communities and cultures and assure their full participation in the Honduran socio-economic process, respecting their values and ways of life," Rodriguez declared.

The legal system would regulate such sensitive problems as land management, forest resources, education, health and archeological, historical, cultural and linguistic heritage. The Bill was drafted by former labour minister, Guatama Fonseca, in conjunction with advisors representing the indigenous groups.

Following the meeting, Indian leaders sent a document to Honduran president, José Azcona, outlining their problems and demanding immediate solutions. Their chief complaint centred around their lack of sufficient arable land, along with the uncertainty created by the absence of property deeds for the land they live and work on. "Since the colonial era, indigenous groups have been forcibly displaced to the least fertile lands in Honduras and pushed onto the mountain slopes," Rodriguez declared.

Another advisor to the indigenous groups, Antonio Lopez, observed that the land where Indian communities have settled, 80 per cent of which is forest land, is not rationally exploited. "The communities are aware that they must protect the forests, but the Mestizos exploit it with the complicity of the country's forestry authorities," Lopez said.

Both Lopez and Rodriguez advocate bilingual and bi-cultural education, where schooling is in indigenous languages. Such programmes already exist in Miskito, Pech, Tawashka and Turropanes communities.

Another element of concern, according to the Indian advocacy workers, is the health of indigenous populations which are often devastated by easily controllable diseases.

The largest ethnic group in Honduras is the Garifona, who number 300,000 and inhabit the country's Atlantic Coast. Smaller groups, such as the Tawashka, number only 2,500 persons. The Xicaques groups from the northern province of Yoro, number about 22,000.

Although no formal studies have been conducted, the status of Honduras' indigenous people has generated concern and served as the basis of three meetings, supported by a number of government institutions including the Planning Secretariat, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National University.

"The ethnic groups are part of the nation, but so far they have been excluded from national politics, economy and culture," Rodriguez stated. Nonetheless, the members of CAHDEA are optimistic about the Draft Bill they have prepared. "We do not have a determined strategy to get this Bill approved by the National Congress, but the indigenous communities themselves are politically determined to achieve that goal," Rodriguez said.

Source: IPS

India: In the Death Trap - The Hunting and Gathering Communities of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By G. Prakash Reddy and V. Sudarsen

Introduction

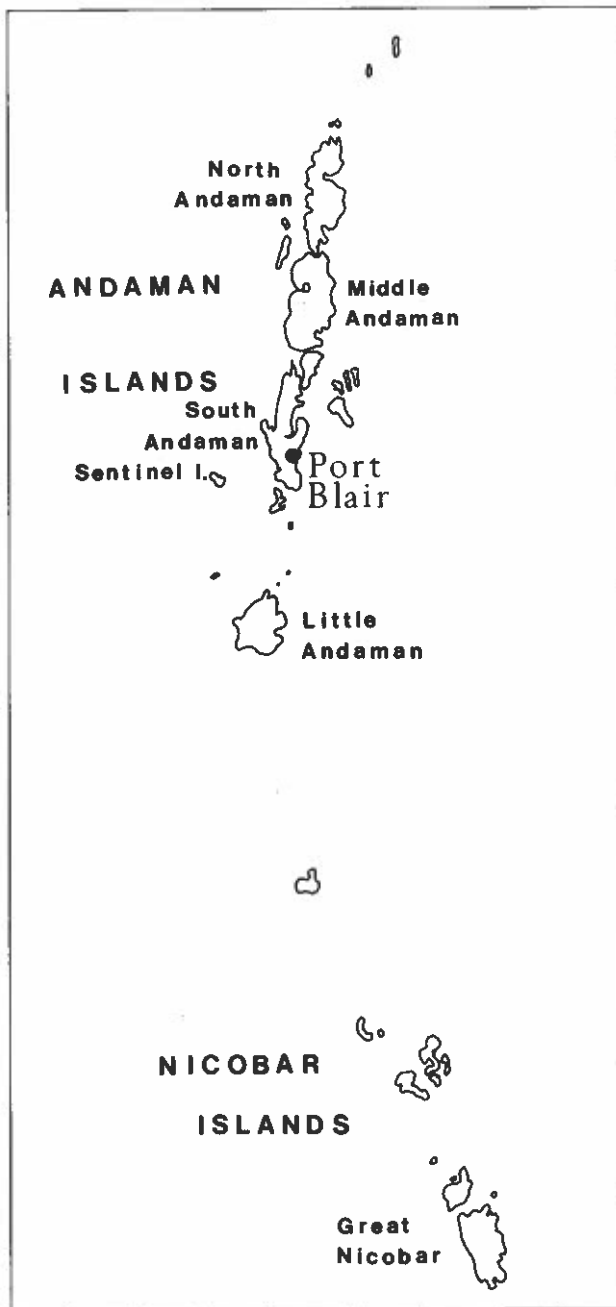
In this paper we attempt to recount and delineate the history and the reasons for the extinction/decline and marginalisation of the hunting and gathering communities of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. At the same time we will look into the policies and motives towards the indigenous communities during the British Colonial period (prior to 1947), and later during India's independence period (after 1947).

Throughout the world a few remaining hunting and gathering communities are involved in a hard struggle for their physical survival. Without any qualms, the civilised world has witnessed the gradual marginalisation and extinction of many of these societies. This disaster is being brought on these communities by the encroachment into their habitats and territories of the so-called civilised, industrialised and over-consuming societies. From the beginnings of colonialism, "civilised man" has not only usurped their territories, ignored their rights and entitlements, but also wittingly or unwittingly set a series of death traps for them. Even in the modern period i.e. post-colonial period, development measures, mainly motivated in the name of national interest and in the interest of other cultures, have, instead of improving the conditions of hunters and gatherers, diminished their chances of survival. The hunters and gatherers of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, as we shall see, are no exception to this general trend, which was set in motion during colonial rule.

Hunters and Gatherers of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Before the British set foot on these Islands, at the end of the 18th century, there were fifteen communities (Man, 1883; Radcliffe-Brown, 1922). The ten sub-groups of the Great Andamanese, Aka-Gari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, Aka-Jenu, Aka-Kede, AkaKol, Oka-Juwai, A-Pucikwar, Aka-bale and Aka-Bea, today number only 19 persons and are known collectively as Great Andamanese.

Today there are only five surviving hunting and gathering communities, four of which are from the group of Andaman Islands and the remaining one



Map of the Andaman Islands

is from the Nicobar Islands. They are: the Great Andamanese of Strait Island, the Onge of Little Andaman, the Jarawa of South Andaman, the Sentinelese of Sentinel Island, and the only community in the Nicobars, the Shompen of Great Nicobar Island. These communities today are all struggling for their sheer physical survival. Since 1900, when they first came into contact with the British and other migrant populations, their numbers have been gradually declining, bringing them almost to the verge of extinction.

The history of the decline and marginalisation of the hunting and gathering communities in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands can be divided into two phases, the Colonial Phase and the post-Colonial Phase. This division is essential to understanding the differences as well as similarities in the attitudes and motives behind the policies pursued by the colonial administration and the Indian administration towards these communities. A description of each community is presented below.

The Great Andamanese

The Great Andamanese are considered the survivors of different hunting and gathering communities from the Islands (Pandit, 1985). The community was settled on Strait Island by the present Andaman administration. When they were first settled there they numbered 28 and now they are only 19 persons. The group is virtually dependent on food provided by the Andaman administration. Except for some skill in hunting, this group has not retained any of its past cultural elements.

The Onge

A few decades ago, the Onge were divided into four bands, each foraging in its own territory of Hut Bay, Dugong Creek, Jackson Creek and South Bay in Little Andaman Island. Today they number 103 persons, while at the turn of the century they numbered approximately 600. Until 1976, the Onge were almost the sole inhabitants of Little Andaman Island, enjoying all its resources. In 1976 they were resettled in the northeast at Dugong Creek and left with 110 sq.km. for their foraging activities. Before their resettlement they had about 700 sq.km. The resettlement and marginalisation of the Onge was the result of large scale colonisation by mainland and Nicobari populations and the commercial exploitation of the forests of Little Andaman. The Onge were the second hunting and gathering group in the Andamans to have their lands colonised almost a hundred years ago, which is today threatening their very existence.

The Jarawa

The Jarawa population today is estimated at 200 to 300 persons. Once the Jarawa roamed in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, the capital of the Andaman and

Nicobars. Around 1900, its population was estimated at 600. Today the community is confined to a narrow stretch of forest in South Andaman, guarded by "Bush Police" who confine them to their own territory. Though gradually pushed back into the interior and despite its declining population, the community cherished its independence and freedom and have fought for it from the beginning. Its battle for survival has not ended with India's independence; it still goes on. The present Andaman administration has established very tenuous, friendly contact with a small group of Jarawa. This was achieved by dumping gifts in Jarawa territory.

The Sentinelese

They are the inhabitants of Sentinel Island (20 sq.km.) in the Andamans, and they are still holding their territory uncompromised. Their population is now estimated at 100-150 persons. Despite the efforts of the present Andaman-Nicobar administration to "befriend" them, they are yet to be contacted. Sentinel Island is the last bastion of negroid hunters and gatherers of the Andaman Islands. But at any moment it is likely to fall prey to the administration (the Daily Teligram 1987).

The Shompen

The Shompen inhabit Great Nicobar Island and today number only 117 persons. It is the only hunting and gathering community which has remained undisturbed until India's independence. Ethnically, this community is mongoloid. A few Nicobari villages are located on the coast and practise horticulture (Reddy, 1982). The Coastal Nicobaris never tried to disturb the life of the Shompen and, in fact, both groups have a good understanding of each other and participate in silent trade (Reddy, Sudarsen, Patnaik, 1987). After India's independence the situation on the island took a different turn. The influx of outsiders and the inroads of government programmes of "strategic importance" have already unsettled the life of the Shompen and begun the process of marginalisation. They may end up occupying only one small corner of the island.

The Colonial Phase

For the hunting and gathering communities of the Andaman Islands, the colonial phase started with the establishment of the first British Settlement at Port Cornwallis (now called Port Blair) in 1789. But the settlement was abandoned in 1796. This short period seems to have had little effect on the indigenous inhabitants. For the next 65 years the natives enjoyed absolute freedom except for sporadic raids by the Malay pirates for capturing the Andamanese as slaves (Andamanese slaves found their way to the Royal Courts of Indo-China).

In 1858, the British established a penal settlement. Initially all the indigenous peoples in the vicinity resented the occupation of their territory and often raided the settlement. The first attack on the British took place before the settlement had even been established, when a committee of British Officers came to investigate its possibilities. The committee was attacked by the natives with bows and arrows. In retaliation the natives were fired upon indiscriminately and many were killed. Thus, the deliberate slaughter of the natives began and continued sporadically for 50 to 60 years. In 1859 there were three recorded encounters between the natives and the British in which nearly 100, 200 and 1150 native people respectively, participated. A large number of natives were killed (Singh, 1970).

After these encounters the British administration decided to set up another death trap, this time in the form of extending a hand of "friendship" to the natives. On the main Andamans, all the groups except the Jarawa were caught in this trap which was the brainchild of one Captain Haughton. In their "operation friendship", the British established "Andamanese homes" where the natives could stay as long as they wanted to enjoy the hospitality of the administration. The first "home" was established in 1863 when a British sailor tried to rape an Andamanese girl and was killed by the Andamanese. Two Andamanese were caught and put in detention. A few Andamanese visited the detained people and the visitors were housed in separate huts which came to be called "Andamanese homes" (Mann R.S., 1976). Later on a few more such homes were established. These houses proved to be veritable death cells because of their contamination with infections and new diseases. Here the natives came into contact with convicts and other people from whom they acquired the habits of smoking and chewing tobacco, drinking home-distilled liquor etc. Finally, the Andamanese women fell prey to sexual assaults and contacted venereal diseases. By the end of 1864, more than 100 Andamanese were living in these homes. Between 1864 and 1870, about 150 Andamanese children were born in them but not one child lived beyond the age of two.

The British launched an assault on the communities; they tried to change the native diet, they tried unsuccessfully to teach them agriculture and the English language. The native communities lost their cultural vitality and the will to survive. Furthermore, the natives gradually became sterile and the birth rate decreased alarmingly.

The then Andaman administration, having achieved its objective of "befriending" the Great Andamanese communities, made use of them against the still hostile Jarawa and even against the Onge. This again proved fatal to both the "friendly" and "hostile" groups. The British freely supplied metal to the friendly group to make spears and arrow heads and even guns with which

to fight the Jarawa. Friendly groups were also used to track down escaped convicts.

The same pattern was followed with the Onge of Little Andaman. Initially the British used the friendly Andamanese against the Onge with disastrous consequences for both groups. In 1867, in an encounter with the crew of the ship, "Assam Valley", the Onge killed two officers as well as 57 Andamanese crew. A punitive expedition was organised by the Colonial administration in which nearly 70 young Onge men were massacred. In another encounter with the British nearly 30 Onge died. After these two incidents the Onge accepted their subjugated position. By the year 1886-87 "cordial" relations were established. From then on the Onge population started decreasing.

The British only failed in the case of Jarawa. Many punitive expeditions were carried out against the Jarawa and in one such expedition 37 Jarawa were killed. The British failure to "befriend" the Jarawa proved lucky for the latter, as their survival today shows. Though not in contact with the colonist population during this period, the Jarawa could not escape the punitive expeditions but fortunately did escape the influence of "Andamanese homes" and new diseases and epidemics such as smallpox, influenza and mumps which took away half of the population of the other native groups. It is reported that in 1877 a smallpox epidemic took a large toll of the South Andaman population and in 1890 influenza struck and caused further decline in the population. During the colonial phase the Jarawa became marginalised and, having retreated into the interior, confining themselves to a narrow stretch of forest.

The Japanese occupation of the islands during the Second World War also proved disastrous to these communities. A few natives died in bombings and the Japanese also gunned down some Jarawa in retaliation for the death of soldier.

The Post-Colonial Phase

India gained its Independence in 1947 and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands came under suzerainty of the Indian Union. For one and a half decades after Independence, the Indian government did not give much thought to the troubles and tribulations of the hunting and gathering communities of the Islands. By the time it woke up to the situation, irrevocable damage had already been done to the natives as well as to the tropical environment in general, and the environment in which these communities lived in particular. But even the sudden interest the Indian government evinced for the Islands was not because of the declining population but for the reasons which are mentioned briefly below:

Population pressure

While the hunter-gatherers' population continued to decline, the colonist population increased by leaps and bounds. Before the British left the Islands they had created villages for the ex-convict population, and also settled Moppla of Kerala after their rebellion. There were even a few Burmese settlements. Commercial utilisation of the forest had already started. Today the population of these Islands is about two *lakhs* (200,000 persons). It is said that every ship that sails from the ports of Madras and Calcutta brings nearly 600 immigrants from all parts of India.

Refugee settlers

The Indian government found the Islands useful for settling the refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) after Partition. A large forest tract adjacent to Jarawa territory was cleared and a few hundred East Pakistan refugees were settled. Likewise, on Great Nicobar Island, the territory of the Shompen, nearly 100 families of ex-military personnel were settled. In Little Andaman, besides refugee families, a large number of Nicobari families were also settled. All these newly settled communities, as well as the old convict and Burmese settlements, were agriculture-based and large tracts of virgin forest were cleared legally as well as illegally for cultivation.

Commercial exploitation of forest

The intensive commercial exploitation of forests began after Independence. The Forestry Department and the Forestry Development Corporation were established for this purpose. Industries making matchsticks and plywood were set up.

Strategic importance

The Islands are strategically important for India. Over the past two decades many defence establishments have been located there and Great Nicobar Island has become a centre of activity. These defence projects required clearing large tracts of virgin forest. The Indian government is itself alarmed at the scale of deforestation taking place, as a consequence of its own decisions. The impact of all these activities are clearly perceptible on the life of the Shompen.

Development of tourism

The Islands have been receiving much attention from tourism in the past two decades. Within the last ten years many tourist homes and even five-star hotels have been built in and around Port Blair. Hotels, bars and restaurants are called "The Onge", "The Shompen" etc., with paintings and photographs of the native men and women adorning the walls. In Aberdeen Bazaar, in Port Blair, un-

scrupulous photographers are doing a brisk trade in the nude photographs of these peoples. The tour programme of every VIP who visits the Islands includes a visit to one of these tribes and a photograph together with them (Reddy, 1974). The tribals are being treated, literally, as curios.

Impact on the Native peoples

As the importance of the Islands grow in the eyes of the Indian government, the desire to marginalise the hunters and gatherers under the guise of "national interest" and through welfare and development activities has also increased. The latest evidence of this ethnocidal approach is the agreement in principle to establish a "free port" in these Islands.

The Andamanese

From the time of India's independence until they were settled on Strait Island, the Great Andamanese roamed the streets of Port Blair begging and being exploited by contractors, labourers and all sorts of people. Even after their settlement on Strait Island one young Andamanese youth died due to the high handedness of a forest contractor. Today these people are living on the dole and patiently awaiting their end.

The Onge

The Onge, whose population was in gradual decline, were the sole inhabitants of the Island of Little Andaman till 1970. Then, the Marine Department constructed a small jetty and was closely followed by refugee families.

The Onge were marginalised in two stages. In 1973, an area of 390 hectares of forest land was reclaimed to settle 249 refugee families from East Pakistan. From 1974 to 1975, a 22 km. road was laid from Hut Bay as a facility for the settled refugee families. Within one year a passenger bus also started plying this road. At this point the Onge band occupying the Hut Bay area moved to e.g. Dugong Creek and Jackson Creek. In the second phase the Onge were moved into tin roofed sheds at Dugong Creek. This was completed by the end of 1978. Today, 3,800 hectares of deforested land is occupied by the settlers and another 1,593 hectares of forest was cleared to raise Red Oil Palm by the Forest Development Corporation.

At present, except for a little bit of hunting and gathering, the Onge are dependent on social benefit payments from the Andaman administration (Reddy and Sudarsen, 1987). A social worker is in charge of the Onge on whose recommendation the Andaman administration constructed two septic latrines without any provision for water. They are now unused. The administration also introduced a cow, in order to teach the Onge to keep milch cows, but it is the social worker who is learning rather than the Onge.

The impact of settled refugees and the influx of other people on the Onge is the same as that experienced by the natives of the main Andamans during the colonial phase. The Onge are becoming addicted to all sorts of habits; their diet is changing to one which they can no longer produce themselves. Increasing sterility has quickened the decreasing birth rate.

VIP visits

From early on, the Onge have been objects of curiosity for the VIP tourists visiting the Andamans (Reddy 1974). Even defence personnel make quick visits to Little Andaman to be photographed with the Onge who are herded in front of them in all kinds of fancy dresses. In exchange for the photographs the VIPs give gifts such as coloured cloth, tobacco etc.

The Jarawa

The Andaman administration is now engaged in consolidating the contact it established with a group of Jarawa in 1974. In every visit by special boat it dumps gifts like bananas, coconuts, aluminum utensils and even cooked rice on the Jarawa coast which the Jarawa pick up. Sometimes the Jarawa board the ship and collect the gifts. Once a group of Jarawa was brought to Port Blair in a truck and made objects of curiosity and entertainment for the population of Port Blair.

Despite initial contacts with the administration, the Jarawa continue to raid the settlements of refugees and labourers engaged in road building. A road has facilitated further encroachment of non-tribals into Jarawa territory. Indiscriminate destruction of forest on both sides of the road is taking place. The Jarawa are furious that the road is being laid in their territory because it has further reduced their area of foraging. This road, called the Great Andaman trunk road, links the three main Andaman Islands (North, Middle and South). Because of the intervention of late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the work on this road was stopped for some time, but it is underway again. Earlier the Andaman Public Works Department undertook the work, but now it has been handed over to the Border Roads Organisation.

Jarawa raids on the settlements are more frequent in summer. They are even seen approaching the settlers' wells during the day. Furthermore, in their raids they have also started taking food such as bunches of bananas, coconuts etc., from the fields (Bhatt, 1987). All this suggests that the Jarawa are facing a scarcity of food and water in the summer months. Due to large scale deforestation adjacent to the Jarawa, perennial water sources within Jarawa territory quickly dry up and the forest becomes barren. Poaching by colonists within Jarawa territory has increased and many poachers have been attacked and killed by

the Jarawa. The Jarawa guard their food resources carefully but the poachers often take their revenge on them.

Poachers enter Jarawa areas to hunt deer. Wherever and whenever these poachers encounter Jarawa they kill them (Jarawa) with their fire arms and burn their huts. These poachers do not hesitate even to kill their small children, according to information. Whenever there is a feast in the residence of some influential politician or a bureaucrat, hunting parties are sent into the prohibited areas to kill deer for the feast (The Light of Andaman 1988).

Another disturbing element is the decision taken by the Andaman administration to start a "Jarawa home" at a place called Lakra Alungra on Middle Andaman. According to the announcement of the Lt. Governor "the proposed camp will have adequate provision for ration articles, drinking water and even huts for tribesmen will be constructed" (The Daily Teligram 1987.)

The Shompen

The Great Nicobar Island is so remote and means of communication so scanty that very little is known outside about the troubles and tribulations of the Shompen. However, a preliminary study conducted recently by a team of anthropologists headed by the authors has come to the conclusion that the Shompen are also on their way to marginalisation and to be relocated in a corner of the Island. The impact of colonists and deforestation is exactly the same as that found among the natives of the Andamans.

It is interesting to note that, despite the knowledge of the adverse effects of "Andamanese homes" on the indigenous Andamanese, the administration has created the same kind of death trap for the Shompen called a "Shompen hut". The hut is situated at the end of a recently laid 30 km. asphalt road and is expected to act as a meeting place between the Shompen and visiting welfare officials. It is achieving all that the "Andamanese homes" did in the Andamans except its intended objective. The strategic offices of the Indian government are likely to occupy the entire Island one day and, in certain government quarters, it is thought that in such an eventuality the Shompen will have to be shifted to some other island.

Another lurking danger is that Great Nicobar Island may be declared a free port and, if this should happen, the fate of the Shompen is clear.

In terms of food, at present the territory occupied by the Shompen is just sufficient to sustain the existing Shompen population and could continue to do so in the future provided it is left intact. (Reddy, Sudarsen and Patnaik, 1987).

The Analysis: the approach and the motives

It would be quite revealing to compare and contrast the approach of the administration during the Colonial and post-Colonial periods towards the hunting and gathering communities of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The approach of the British during the Colonial period was typical of its administration in all of its colonies; the carrot and stick approach and the divide and rule policy. The natives clearly showed their resentment against the occupation of their territory through raids. The British did not give any thought to the sentiments of the natives and for simple things would mount punitive expeditions to slaughter them. The natives gradually understood the power of the gun and probably felt they had no alternative but to accept the hand of "friendship" extended to them. The British policy of creating psychoses through punitive expeditions and then extending the hand of "friendship" succeeded in all cases except with the Jarawa. The motive in befriending the natives is quite clear: unless the natives were neutralised with friendship the colonisers could not be expanded.

Using natives against their own brothers may have been an after-thought, after the befriending process. It is not clear why the Andamanese were encouraged to fight the unfriendly tribes. Was it because the administration did not want to put its own people in peril, or was it because it believed that in the inter-tribal fight both the communities would perish?

Another pertinent question is, having known fully that the indigenous population was decreasing year after year due to disease, sickness and epidemics caused by the convicts and other colonists, why did the British not take any action, medical or otherwise, to reverse the trend? Perhaps the administration thought that the natives were expendable, and that if the native population became extinct it would be well and good because the entire resources of the Islands would be at their disposal.

The same doubts can be expressed about the policy of "Andamanese homes" and for the closed-eye approach to the meagre food rations that were served, the gift-giving of all types, the habits they acquired, the unhygienic conditions and the high infant mortality rate in these homes.

When we examine the approach and motives of the administration in the post-colonial period, except for the punitive expeditions and deliberate slaughter, the Indian government seems to be moving along the path laid down by the colonial government. The motives behind the marginalisation and colonisation seem to be almost the same, i.e. the utilisation of the Islands for various purposes in the name of national interest. The insensitivity towards the indigenous peoples' own feeling for their territories and culture and to their entitlement and

right to their habitats is as strong in the present administration as it was in the colonial administration of these Islands.

In the Jarawa's recent encounters with non-tribals (e.g. on the 4th April 1988) they expressed in no uncertain terms that the territory in which they are living, and the territory occupied by the encroachers, belong to them. An eye witness to this incident said that:

This time (after killing a ranch labourer) the Jarawa did not go deep in to the jungle but remained there near a *nallah* which is the water source there. Many people from Manraghat and other surrounding areas assembled near this nallah early in the morning for "Mariama Puja". The Jarawa made their appearance and showed by gesture that it is their area and the other people should vacate the area immediately for them (The Light of Andamans 1988).

Establishing a "Shompen hut", "Jarawa home" and gift-giving expeditions to the Jarawa using the Sentinelese to befriend them without realising the consequences, parading the native men and women in front of visitors, taking them in trucks to Port Blair, building a trunk road in Jarawa territory, settling refugees in their habitats and deforesting large areas smacks of nothing but ethnocentrism, neo-colonialism and territorial imperialism.

It is also known from reliable sources that the Forestry Department has already planned on paper the division of the entire Jarawa territory into blocks ready to move in for commercial exploitation the moment the Jarawa are relocated in a corner of the Island.

We can only term the present administration's approach towards the hunting-gathering communities of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as "spreading the seeds to trap the birds".

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International: The True Owners of Heritage

By Christopher Stephens

Perhaps because the real struggles of Western national museums and art galleries have been shrouded in a thick veil of colonial hypo-crispy and professionally laminated lies, the cultural heritage held by European and American institutions sometimes appears as a divine gift and national right.

In fact the artifacts and archival materials held by French or US museums, to choose but two examples, and their process of acquisition was, and continues to be, a pretty cut-throat business. It may no longer be literally cut-throat - as in the last century when the French absconded with antiquities from thirteen Middle Kingdom tombs and pyramids leaving trails of murder and mayhem, or when the Americans saved the sacred relics and garments of the Oglala Sioux minus the diseased and massacred bodies which bore them - but the struggles are no less intense for that.

The directors of national museums and art galleries and their boards understand the importance of enveloping themselves in a coating of quasi-legal rights and time-worn shibboleths - about rescue and salvage, ownership and trusteeship, collections management and conservation. The dizzying array of second-rate cultural and heritage policies brandished by the international museum community testifies to that. It is no small secret that the majority of these rights were not proclaimed to keep a nation's own heritage safe and to preserve its own cultural integrity, but to retain possession of others' histories and secure a share of their cultural wealth. The mythology of a redemptive colonialism and an innocent people has always been thought better kept in the hands of those who created the history than those who underwent it and suffered from the results.

In the dark and ill-lit halls of those insidious self-serving institutions paradoxically named for what they do not do very well - initiate real people into real cultural experiences - two categories of opponents to cultural or heritage reform are discernible. Both are real impediments to any kind of change which may eventually see the rightful return of histories and their material evidence to original or first peoples. For simplicity's sake we can define one as the unregenerate professional, blinded by the dictums of a Western schooling, and the other as the apathetic museum citizen, whose curiosity has been anaesthetized by Britannica expectations. Any sort of change - in ownership, access, or simply presentation of artifact or archival material - is deeply unsettling to both groups. It not only threatens their privileges but cuts against the very grain of what they have been

told to believe – and in many cases have believed about the correct way the world is to be viewed and about a nation's history being legal custody.

We can scarcely presume to analyse whether the mass of people from Western countries might share these concerns. Nevertheless, we may assume that the majority of Westerners everywhere, judging from the radical opinions expressed in two international polls, would appreciate less conflict between third world countries and industrialized powers – between first peoples and dominant nations – over traditional cultural and environmental rights. And such a situation would be greatly improved by having basic rights as ownership of traditional lands and historic resources, as well as the management of cultural affairs, facilitated, guaranteed and not violated.

Restitution of original cultural rights and historical property holds out a promise of improvement. But when? And at what price?

Indigenous people everywhere may desire to regain what was once theirs. But guarantees of ownership and self-government to legitimise this, coupled with the certain knowledge that sincere efforts to repatriate cultural heritage has brought few rewards, lends itself to a futility noted by even the most laconic observer. In nearly every country flaunting an architectural monolith in the name



Owning history – negotiating for a fundamental right. The Inuit of Canada's north ask for the return of their art and artifacts (photo: Sharon Bunes).

of culture – counting its bounty in the form of other peoples' treasure – is the situation most glaringly apparent in the lack of equivalent cultural institutions managed and owned by first nation peoples.

Changing this situation through financial inducement without the attendant land-based historic resources or artifact collections becoming the property of indigenous peoples extends the risk of losing the one firm grasp Western democracies have on a wholesome livelihood – the preservation of the variety and quality of life. So long as the museums and art galleries of the Western world – together with all their lip service to indigenous rights – continue to covet what is no longer morally or politically theirs and idolatrise a history of metaphor and myth, the weaker this hold becomes. Unless governments take corrective action both decisively and promptly, they justify further alienation of first nation peoples whose present capacity for cynicism and passive aggression finds few equals.

It would be prudent to look to ourselves and Canadian situations for further guidance in these matters. The examples set by other nations in fostering first peoples' interests in repossessing their cultural heritage are not for emulation. A successful recipe would include restitution of significant cultural and historic property including both land and historic resources, a revitalisation of traditional political and economic choices symbolically triggered by the former, and considerable effort to widen the pluralism and tolerance of Canadian and Western society. Token attempts to return but then withhold the material symbolism of first peoples, as evidenced by the Spirit Sings exhibition, is no answer and a contribution to the larger problem. Transferring significant numbers of cultural property in title and deed and providing for renewed learning opportunities, as recently arranged between the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Inuit, is a much more promising effort and one step on a long path to true ownership of culture and history.

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International: On Museums and Indigenous Cultures

By Poka Laenui, (Hayden Burgess)

The cultures of indigenous peoples are part of the cultural heritage of all mankind. Indigenous cultures, like all cultures, deserve dignified treatment and proper respect from all peoples of the world.

How should museums present indigenous cultures?

To address this question, I suggest we first ask, "What is museums' role in society?" Apparently, museums must fulfill the role of supporting the society in whatever direction the society is heading (or should be heading). But this response leads only to further questions: "What is the direction of human progression? What is the goal of human existence? Where are we heading?"

Unless these questions are first considered and resolved, and we are given a definite social direction, we are left without a sound formulation to guide us and will remain drifting in a sea of ideas, at times even engaging in activities such as pointing out clothing fashions and hair designs, peeking at indigenous courtship methods, or an outright condemnation of indigenous religious practices.

Therefore, I ask, "What is the supreme end of human existence?"

I submit that *spiritual development* is the supreme end. The endeavours of mankind in economic, political and material accumulation, in the fields of science, medicine, astronomy, astrology, and technology all began as a progression in spiritual development. How closely those engaged in these endeavours have stayed on this initial path is subject to great controversy which I shall not entertain here.

What of the languages, dances, ceremonies, art, "magic" and all these other practices of indigenous peoples which we collect loosely under the term "culture"? I submit that "culture" is that highest social and historical expression of a people of their spiritual development. In the languages, dances and ceremonies of indigenous peoples we can often find on the surface the spirituality of the people. These cultural expressions are capsules of spiritual conceptualisations developed by a people over thousands of years.

What should be the responsibility of museums to moving the society they serve closer to society's supreme goal of spiritual development? Museums are responsible for maximising the opportunities in which people are able to understand and to continue developing their spirituality. Thus, in dealing with cul-

tures of indigenous peoples, museums should present to their societies the cultural practices of others so that their societies will be enriched by the wealth of social and historical experiences of many other cultures. Thereby, museums will be providing their audiences the opportunity to appreciate the many avenues to spiritual development and thus be able to develop their own spirituality with a broader view of already existing cultures.

If this can be said to be the mission of museums, or at least cultural museums, how do museums achieve this goal with respect to indigenous peoples? And in attempting to fulfill this mission, what are museums' responsibilities to accord indigenous peoples and their cultural practices the proper dignity and respect?

In presenting indigenous cultures, museums must present not the museum's view of indigenous cultures, for too often that view is shrouded with judgmental values based on that museum's particular approach to spirituality. When that is done, the cultural practices are presented according to standards foreign to the indigenous culture. Such a practice only reinforces the culture of the society in which the museum exists and does not provide the service of presenting other expressions of spirituality.

Let me illustrate this with an example. In Hawai'i, the Bishop Museum presented an exhibition called "The Hawaiians". As I entered the first display hallway, I was immediately confronted by a brightly coloured painting of an artist's impression of the death of Captain James Cook at Kealakekua on the Island of Hawai'i. Cook was in the centre of the picture with his men around him, warding off the attacks of the natives.

That was the introductory statement for the po'e Hawai'i, the native people of Hawai'i, a people whose ancestors come from the Po, the god of creation; whose forefathers were directly traceable to the life forms of the oceans and the lands, whose genealogical line was traceable from the time when the giant lizards roamed the earth - a people who had no "dark ages" but whose creational chant, the Kumulipo, has been called the greatest piece of literature ever produced by mankind.

The Hawaiians did not begin when this British Captain, perhaps lost in the middle of the Pacific, came upon our islands. No. Hundreds of years before, when Cook's forefathers were still hugging their European coastlines afraid of venturing too far lest they fall into the jaws of fairytale monsters, my forefathers were crisscrossing the Pacific ocean, sailing from island to island, even reaching continents which touched the Pacific waters. Cook did not discover us. We knew, long before he was conceived, who and where we were.

Cook's appearance may have been the birth of our people in the minds of the Europeans, but for us, our beginning is very different. I am sure we can find many more examples to illustrate how foreign views and values can produce a

tremendously inaccurate presentation of indigenous cultures, yet serve only to reinforce the foreigner's concepts of indigenous cultures.

How then can museums reform? Is it possible to bring about a new partnership between museums and indigenous peoples so that the cultures of the latter may be presented accurately and respectfully, with greater tolerance for different forms of spiritual expressions?

I will not be so bold as to suggest the method of reformation, rather I would pose some questions for consideration by those who are the experts in museums in the hope that these questions may aid reform.

- How can museums look beyond the form and outer appearance of a cultural display item and present the substance of spirituality contained within or illustrated by the item?

- Can non-indigenous museum experts properly deal with the spiritual substance of indigenous cultures when these experts come from and abide by a belief system foreign to that of the indigenous peoples? Should museums employ indigenous peoples themselves so that an accurate transfer of information can take place in an exhibit? At what levels should museums incorporate indigenous peoples?

How do museums include indigenous peoples? Should they be "qualified" in terms of possessing diplomas, degrees or certificates (often proof of having been subjected to a minimum of social and cultural brainwashing) or should they be qualified in terms of possessing a first hand experience, understanding, and perhaps even belief in the spiritual expression for which his or her culture stands? Should elders be considered the experts and museum trained people serve as their technical assistants to aid in presenting the elders' beliefs in the most accurate manner?

- How should museums treat those aspects of indigenous cultures which, according to that culture, should not be exposed to others, or to women or children. What about practices or display items reserved for disclosure only to a particular family or group? Who makes the final decision on whether or not to display such sensitive properties or practices?

- In displaying indigenous objects sacred to the people, what are the proper methods of display which will not detract or appear disrespectful to indigenous concepts? How can modern technology be used to present these displays? Can indigenous methods such as songs, story telling or chants be used as a medium of communication?

- What is the responsibility of museums to return sensitive cultural properties (e.g. representational forms of gods, or goddesses or spiritual elements, human remains, etc.)? Does it depend on whether or not such properties were freely given by the indigenous peoples? What constitutes "freely" given? Are bribes, trade in trinkets, barter with alcohol considered to be fair trading or "freely" given? Are a people under colonisation ever able to "freely" give anything?

How should museums treat the situation where such sensitive cultural properties are "found" by museum experts or others who turned these properties over (for a fee, favour or other) to museums? Do these circumstances make the possession of such properties by museums legitimate? Were such properties ever "lost" by indigenous peoples in order to be "found"?

Is it sufficient reason not to return cultural properties, the claim that indigenous peoples do not have the appropriate technology or facility to preserve such properties as well as museums? Is there any value to the indigenous claim that their properties are often never intended to be preserved but should be laid to rest or destroyed, or used in their ceremonies rather than enclosed in a display panel or left in the bottom of some drawer of a museum's basement? Is the "mentality" of preservation merely an imposition of foreign values applied to indigenous peoples?

As we consider these issues and the sensitivity of indigenous peoples to museums, we should also consider the image which museums often represent to indigenous peoples. In some societies, museums seem to carry an aura of separateness from indigenous peoples - an elite institution, the territory of scholars, scientists and tourists. Is it time for museums to take down the "walls" which separate them from the marginalised sectors of the society, either by virtue of that sector's geographical, cultural or economic situation?

Especially with respect to those indigenous peoples who are now undergoing cultural extinction, including the loss of language, lack of creative crafts and, weakening of individual identity in the cultures, do museums have responsibility to give back to the people the products of museum research and investigation? If museums do indeed have an affirmative responsibility to act as a catalyst for the renaissance of a culture, how should this responsibility be met?

Each museum will have to apply its role to the specific indigenous and non-indigenous situation it has before it. But these questions may be a starting point in the answer to "How should museums present indigenous cultures?"

Nicaragua: Repatriation and Reconstruction Proposal for Yapti Tasba

Indian Refugees and Communities of Nicaragua

Presented by YATAMA

Introduction

As a consequence of the conflict between the Indian peoples of Nicaragua and the Sandinista Government, and the hurricane devastation of the region, numerous Indian peoples have experienced dislocation and the destruction of their traditional communities. With the recent initiatives between the five Central American Presidents along with the government and the Indian Peoples to seek a just and peaceful solution to this conflict, there is hope that a new stage of development can take place.

This stage will involve the repatriation of refugees, the resettlement of the displaced and the re-construction of their communities, along with the implementation of autonomy and the recognition of land rights.

In anticipation of this development, YATAMA is encouraging governments and other agencies to commit themselves to contribute to a global fund which will receive the actual contribution upon the successful execution of the necessary agreements between the Indian organisation YATAMA and the government of Nicaragua.

Objectives

The main objectives will concentrate on the five following areas:

- to assist in the repatriation, resettlement and reestablishment of displaced and refugees, in addition to securing the means to implement principles of Autonomy for the Miskitu, Sumu and Rama Indian peoples and the Creole communities.
- to aid in their re-settlement and to advance self-sufficiency to approximately 50,000 internal and 40,000 external refugees.

- to undertake the reconstruction of communities destroyed during the conflict, and by the hurricane "Joan".
- to develop a multi-faceted project in the region in sectors of agriculture, fishery and market development of traditional economies and counterpart training.
- to enable the full re-establishment of the Indian organisation YATAMA within Nicaragua so that these objectives can be carried out in a meaningful way in partnership with the government.

Project Management

Agricultural and fishery project

- to implement an agriculture production programme among the refugees of inland areas by providing technical and financial assistance and to increase incentives for production by improving the market infrastructure.
- to implement a fishery production programme among the indigenous people of the coastal area by providing technical and financial assistance and to increase incentives for production by improving the market infrastructure.
- to help the development of community co-ordinators by providing training opportunities in a variety of sectors vital to their self-sufficiency, therefore making available new farming and fishing techniques.

Market development

- to build up the local infrastructure by producing food, farming and fishing products, in order to re-establish more self-sufficiency and put the refugees in touch with markets, therefore assisting in the development of local economies.
- to provide assistance for means of transportation, such as boats, for communities along the Wangki River, and those inland and coastal based in order to facilitate exchange of products between communities and external markets.

Reconstruction of community infrastructure

- building of homes in the communities that were totally destroyed.
- plan for the re-establishment of farming conditions, by making provisions for livestock and other domesticated animals, in addition to making available farming products for the production of fruit trees, crops and other related plantations.
- plan for the facilitation of the fishing conditions, by making provisions for boats, equipment and materials.
- to ensure that harvesting still remains a reliable source of livelihood, with regard to the possibilities of hunting and fishing and farming thereby securing the on-going practice of traditional economies and other related means of subsistence.

Projected Areas of Activities and Global Fund

- i) Repatriation and re-settlement.
- ii) Relief assistance - acquisition of food, medicine, clothes, tools and equipment.
- iii) Reconstruction of community infrastructure - building of homes, preparation of new housing projects, water sources and other requirements deemed necessary by the communities.
- iv) Socio-economic infrastructure - construction of schools, hospitals, health clinics, community centres and other related needs.
- v) Agriculture project - acquisition of livestock, domestic animals and other needs related to farming, machinery etc; acquisition of agricultural seeds for fruit trees, rice, beans, etc.; acquisition of agricultural tools such as machetes, files, axes, hoes, etc.; provide technical assistance.
- vi) Market development - providing transportation, boats, motors, and construction materials; setting up product markets and promotion of local economies.
- vii) Global fund - US\$ 25,000,000.

Conclusion

The purpose of the proposed 25 million dollar fund is primarily to enable the Indian peoples and the Creole communities to re-establish themselves and their communities as quickly as possible, after this reality becomes possible.

It is anticipated that the proceeds of the fund will be transferred directly to the body or agency which will be in place for that purpose. It is envisaged that the agreement arrived at between YATAMA and the government will provide the mechanism for the repatriation, re-settlement and reconstruction envisaged.

YATAMA March 1989

YATAMA is currently seeking financial support for the furtherance of this plan.



Peru: Interview with Cecilio Soria

Cecilio Soria visited the offices of IWGIA in June 1989 and talked to Sheila Aikman about bilingual and bi-cultural education among his people, the Shipibo, and his experiences as one of the first indigenous students from the Peruvian Amazon to attend university in Lima.

The Shipibo live in the jungle Department of Ucayali and, together with their close neighbours, the Conibo, number some 108 communities. In 1945, the Summer Institute of Linguistics first signed an agreement with the Ministry of Education giving the missionary organisation effective monopoly on all scientific research in linguistics and ethnology, and, because of the government's general disinterest in the Amazon, effective control of bilingual education. Though there have been bilingual education programmes in the Amazon under the auspices of the Ministry of Education since 1953, it was SIL which administered the school system itself. When revolutionary government of Velasco promulgated a new Education Act in 1972, the government for the first time began to show an interest in the Amazon and drew up a policy paper on bilingual education. There was a move by some educationalists to terminate the contract with SIL, but before this could happen the political climate changed and a law on Bilingual Education was never incorporated into Educational Reform. In 1977 a new contract was signed with SIL which was extended for another ten years in 1979. The present APRA government of García "has given carte blanche to SIL" (Pueblo Indio no.5, 1986).

In a background of evangelical control, Shipibo teachers have fought for, and established, bilingual education in the Ucayali since the 1960s. They have been in the forefront of the indigenous struggle for an alternative bilingual education and instrumental in forming in 1971 a Union of Bilingual Teachers which in 1986 became the United Syndicate for Workers in Bilingual Education of the Ucayali.

SA: There are many different kinds of education: bilingual education, bi-cultural education, traditional education. What does education mean for the Shipibo people?

CS: We Shipibo make a difference between bilingual education and the teaching of indigenous education. Bilingual education is learning in the primary grades in our own language and in secondary school trying to learn Spanish. This is what we call bilingual education, education in both the Shipibo language and Spanish, and of course for the Aguaruna people it is Aguaruna/Spanish, etc.

It is good that we have bilingual education but indigenous education, or traditional education, is something different it is bi-cultural.

Let me give you an example of **indigenous education** among the Shipibo. When we are children we spend a lot of time with our grandparents and sleep with them because they have mosquito nets. At 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, our grandparents will say "look, you have to behave yourself, become a good hunter". Sometimes it's terrible, they take you to the river when it's cold and put you in to help you grow up strong and be a good worker. Sometimes they pick plants and put them up your nose which, they explain, will take away all the bad things and make you "awake". But at 5 or 6 o'clock our grandparents say that we must obey our parents and they say this almost everyday so that you get tired of it. You have to be there, it is a form of behaviour learning. Also they teach us to respect the women.

So our education comes mostly from grandparents, when we are young. In the nights the old people tell myths and they talk and talk until the children fall asleep. This is another kind of indigenous education. When we are seven or eight years old, we go with our grandparents to learn to fish because it is difficult. They know a lot about fishing and hunting and they teach us for the future. There are some fish which sting and we learn how to handle them and what kind of spear to use depending on whether the fish are big or small. And it is terrible because of the mosquitos. You have to be very quiet by the river, if not the fish disappear and you feel ashamed to go home empty-handed.

A more modern method of this community education is the tree megaphone. A young man climbs to the top of the highest tree and at seven in the evening he broadcasts his "radio programme" - the Voice of Youth. He says "hello ladies and gentlemen, you have worked very well together" but if there have been some people who have not worked well then he shouts out their names for everyone to hear and they are shamed. This is done in order to encourage everyone to work communally. The youth has fallen three times from the tree and also some of the people he interviews because if you are to be interviewed you have to climb the tree. Once a leader of FECONAU (*Federation of Native Communities of the Upper Ucayali*) came to give an interview and he fell down.

SA: *Can you tell us something about your formal education?*

CS: I began my primary schooling in the community of Panaillo and studied there until 1969. My teachers were Shipibo. First of all I went to an infant school, which was called later "transitional school", where almost everything was taught in Shipibo. Later I studied in the primary school; it was like a joke, everything centred on Lima and it created an illusion of knowing Lima. There was almost no mention of the jungle; we were taught about animals such as sea lions, whales



*"School in an indigenous Amarakaeri community, Peru
(photo Sheila Aikman)."*

- animals we didn't know. This was the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who ran the school. The books came from Lima and SIL made up the curriculum. They also imposed many rules on us, for example, prohibiting the drinking of masato (*manioc beer*), and the eating of *zungaro* fish because they said they were scavengers. They were protestants and they said these things were sinful.

I went to Pucallpa to finish my primary schooling. When I arrived there in 1970 I didn't know any Spanish and because of this I had to repeat a year. I learned Spanish little by little but my father had a lot of faith that I could manage and I matriculated in 1971. The teachers helped me to learn Spanish and from 1972 I did not have any problems, in fact, I was second in the year and the teachers were very pleased.

From 1973 to 1976 I attended secondary school in Pucallpa and graduated with honours.

SA: *Are there secondary schools in the communities?*

CS: Now there are 16 Shipibo secondary schools with Shipibo teachers. A few of the teachers are Mestizo but not very many and we are slowly ensuring that

it is Shipibo who are the bilingual teachers. It is very important that the teachers are Shipibo at both primary and secondary level. You see, in the 1970s there was a group of teachers who rebelled and made their own curriculum. My father was one of them. They listened to SIL and were employed by SIL but they went ahead and taught the way they wanted – about the forest, about our laws and why we should fight for our rights in the future – another kind of education, an alternative education suited to our own needs. But it was difficult for these teachers. It was a struggle between two cultures, SIL and the Shipibo.

SIL missionaries travelled a lot in planes keeping contact with different regions and with what was going on in the schools under their control. SIL sent some of the Shipibo teachers to Lima for courses on curriculum run by the Ministry of Education and there they met teachers with other perspectives and other ways of thinking. This opened them up to new ideas.

In 1971 there was a strike by the Aguaruna and Shipibo teachers because of the poor food served at the schools and because there was too much religion forced on the pupils. Some teachers rebelled and, as a result, some were thrown out by SIL because SIL paid their wages. People did not mind, though they did suffer a lot, my father included.

From that time the teachers began working much more with Mestizo teachers too. SIL tried to dismiss those who were progressive because the missionaries did not like what they were doing and thought their ideas were dangerous. But it is interesting that in spite of this many very good teachers passed through the system.

This was happening at a time when the government and the directors of education were very progressive and some of them too were fighting against SIL. This was in 1971 when Velasco was in power and there was a new Education Act. When the indigenous teachers went to have a meeting with the educational director of the Department, he did not know that they wanted to form a union and he said “fine, you go ahead”. When they returned to their communities they formed a union called the Committee of Workers in Bilingual Education (COTEB). More recently, in 1986, COTEB became SUTEB-U, the United Syndicate for Workers in Bilingual Education of the Ucayali, incorporating not only Shipibo but all bilingual teachers in the Department of Ucayali.

SA: What is the relation between SIL, the formation of COTEB, and later SUTEB-U, and the growth of the Shipibo organisation FECONAU, the Federation of Native Communities of the Upper Ucayali?

CS: Later, some of the teachers went off to dedicate themselves to the organisation FECONAU. FECONAU grew out of COTEB and the teachers were an impulse for the development of FECONAU. But it was also because of the

impulse from us, the young people. In 1978 we created the Revolutionary Native Youth Movement of the Ucayali. It was a group consisting of various Shipibo students and in 1980 we changed to it to the Native Youth of the Ucayali, which still exists. We were a force behind FECONAU and I worked hard to found it for my community. The vast majority of those who joined SUTEB-U and FECONAU had been with the teachers who had fought for alternative education in the early 1970s. They worked hard to make others aware and in the end the people understood the need for an organisation. Because of this SIL is sometimes rather negative towards the Shipibo, particularly towards FECONAU.

SA: In 1979, when the government signed an agreement with SIL again, did you still have control over your own education?

CS: No, we did not. SIL was very afraid that bilingual education would be in the hands of bilingual teachers who might begin to attack SIL as they had done previously, and so they brought in teachers from other areas. But now there is a bilingual office in Pucallpa to look after education in native communities and now the Shipibo teachers have more participation. This is a small step in the right direction. But still we are overlooked and there is not much interest in our education.

SA: How did you enter university?

CS: From 1978 to 1979 I worked a lot in the formation of Maroti Shobo, the Shipibo co-operative business, selling Shipibo pottery and textiles. In 1979, I met Alberto Chirif when I was in Iquitos, who helped me with a study grant. I studied in Lima in one of the academies preparing for the university entrance exams. In 1980, I entered the University of San Martin de Pores and studied sociology for two years.

In 1981, there was a very serious problem in my community. All the community authorities were put in prison because my community had defended its fishing area. There was a fisherman doing a lot of fishing for *paiche* from the lake nearby. We Shipibo fish with arrows and take only what we need in order to eat, unlike some non-indigenous fishermen who come and would take the lot if they got the chance. In the same way it is prohibited to cut down trees, but occasionally lumber people come and try to fell many trees. This fisherman went to Pucallpa and brought back four policemen who took my father and various other members of the community away. When I reached Pucallpa from Lima I was horrified at what had happened to my community. When I returned to Lima again I studied very hard and entered Garcilaso University this time studying law. Then I met Françoise Morin who said I would be better to study at the Catholic University. I took the exams and gained a place, and that's where I am now.

I have no grant to study but many of the teachers have fought so that I do not have to pay more than a symbolic amount. It is a very expensive university and it is unusual for an indigenous person to go there. In the universities, for example even in the Catholic University, teachers make no reference to the indigenous situation, everything is put in terms of the agrarian reform, nothing more. All indigenous people are lumped together as Indians and the distinctions between peoples are not important for the teachers. I don't know how this situation can be changed except perhaps by talking with teachers, holding conferences, etc.

SA: Have you experienced discrimination from other people when they find out that you are from the jungle?

CS: The first point is that I am a Shipibo, I have my language and my people. If someone does not have their own identity they can have lots of problems, but not me. I am proud because I have my own language, my own people. I have seen many people with problems because of lack of identity. They are lost and shy because they are different. I have felt discrimination a little, certainly, from some sectors, from some right wing students. But I try to talk with the students and help them to understand. Then they are happier and often invite me to their houses. It is also important to conscientise them too because perhaps some of them will become ministers, therefore it will make some of our work easier if they are aware of us.

SA: How many Amazon students are there in Lima at present?

CS: Now, there are some 30 in the universities and preparatory academies. They come from different parts - there are Shipibo from the Ucayali, Aguaruna from the Alto Marañon, Amarakaeri from the Madre de Dios, Matisigenka from Junin, and different places. They have different sources of funding: there are those who have grants from AIDSESEP, and they have their own organisation - the Inter-ethnic Student Committee of the Jungle, "children of AIDSESEP" they are called. Then there are the Amarakaeri who have support through their regional indigenous organisation, FENAMAD. The Yanasha students at present do not have grants but live in the house belonging the Yanasha organisation, FECONAYA, in Lima. They have formed their own organisation, the Committee of Yanasha Students in Lima, CODEYEL.

The fourth group are the Shipibo students. Those who have grants receive them from the Amazonas Forening, Sweden, but this organisation gives most support to Shipibo students studying in the Ucayali. Those who are in Lima work selling artisan goods, singing, etc. They have their own Shipibo house in the Plaza Dos de Mayo. The students have bought a very large cooker with space

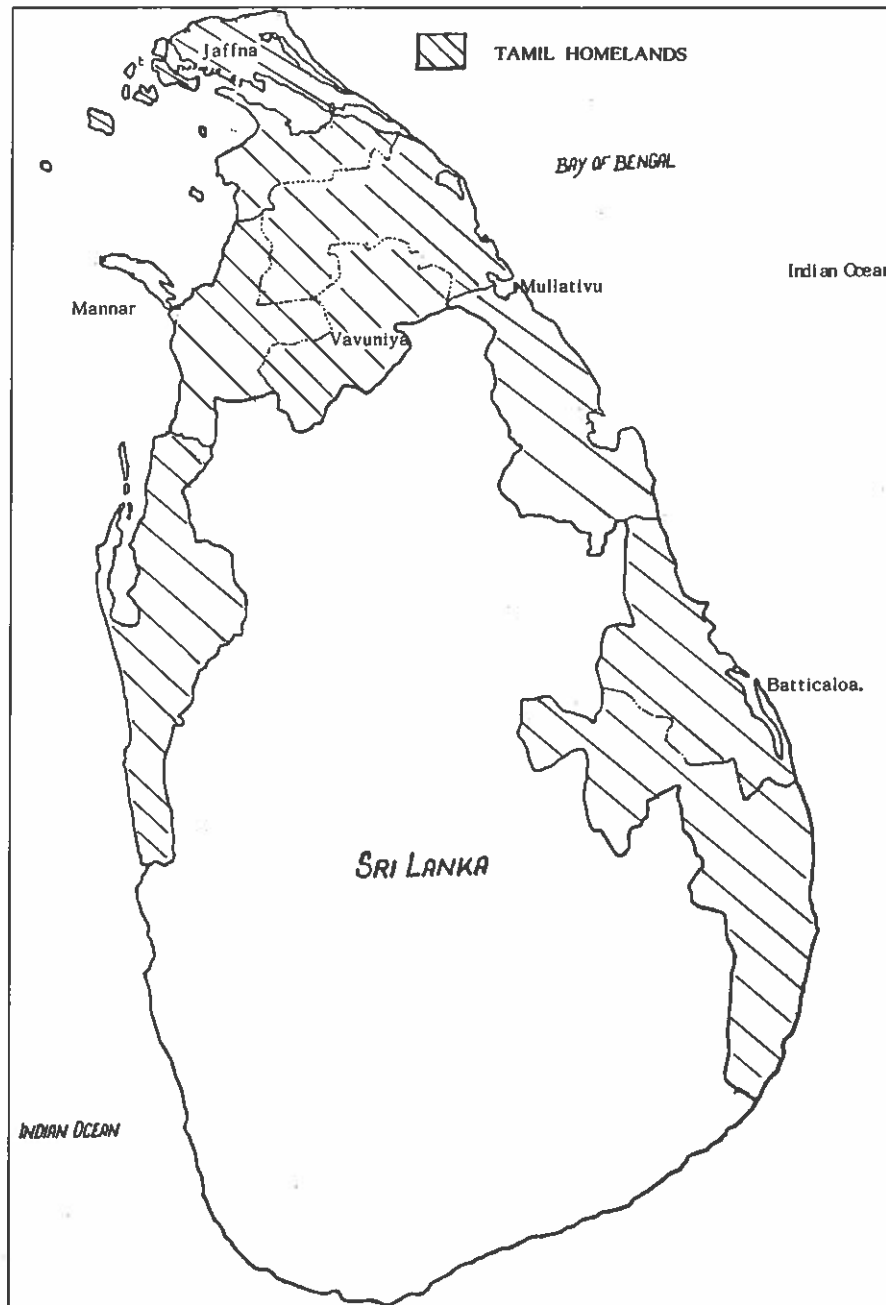
for four pots and prepare food and eat together. Students coming from the Ucayali bring fish, plantains and in this way they study. We Shipibo also have our organisation, ADESHIL, the Association of Shipibo Students in Lima which we formed in 1982.

In 1986 the Native Youth of the Ucayali held a big seminar in Pucallpa for the International Year of Youth. Roger Rumrill, president of the National Council for Peruvian Youth, Evaristo Nugkuag representing AIDSESEP, Salvador Palomino editor of Pueblo Indio, Asuncion Ontiveros, Deputy Jorje Alegria Aylla, Juan Ossio the then head of the Indigenist Institute were invited together with various students - Aguaruna, Huambisa, Yanasha, so that they could see the work of the Native Youth of the Ucayali. It was very good and the young people were able to hear different ideas. They listened to all the speakers and what they had to say about the indigenous peoples. We were very anxious to learn. The Ministry of Education sent signed certificates for our work.

In 1985, out of this seminar, grew the organisation CONJUPE, the National Council of the Youth of Peru. I was elected subsecretary but now the organisation is not functioning. This experience served us well so that in Lima we were able to arrange another seminar in 1986, in the International Year of Peace. From the 21st to the 22nd August, 1986, we had a meeting of youth from not only Lima but from the Ucayali, and there were also our brothers Amarakaeri from the Madre de Dios Department. We were happy to see them come to Lima.

In the same year there was the great meeting of indigenous peoples held by Alan Garcia, RIMANAQUE. We, at the Council of Students received an invitation from the government. They paid our fare and we went to hear what the leaders of the communities had to say. We were happy to be there, it was an experience and we received many letters of greetings from the Camera of Deputies. We are now thinking of having a second seminar in Lima but we have to arrange this among the students. We had wanted to have it in Pucallpa again but we can't because Pucallpa has been militarised and is in a state of emergency.

As there are about thirty of us at the university it is important that we meet together to discuss what we can do when we finish our studies to help our indigenous peoples. We need to talk with each other and with our communities so that we can form a consensus because what we do in the future is extremely important.



Map 1 - Tamil Homelands

Sri Lanka: The Tamils in Sri Lanka

By The Democratic Peoples' Liberation Front

Sri Lanka is an island with a population of about 16 million people. Seventy-four per cent of the population speak Singala, the language of the Singalese and 24 per cent speak Tamil. There are four religions in Sri Lanka. Buddhists comprise 65 per cent of the population and are all Singalese while 15 per cent of the people are Tamil Hindus. The 7 per cent Christian population is both Tamil and Singalese. Seven per cent of the population is Muslim and they are all Tamil-speaking. For some Muslims in the south education is in Sinhala.

Sri Lanka was called Ceylon before the 1972 Constitution. It has been ruled by the Portuguese, the Dutch and lastly by the British until 1948. When it was captured by Portuguese in 1505 there were two Singalese kingdoms and one Tamil kingdom. The Portuguese and the Dutch ruled the Tamil kingdom separately from the Sinhalese kingdoms. The British, however, amalgamated the two territories in 1833 for administrative convenience, on the recommendations of the Colbrooke Commission. During British rule, about one million Tamils were brought to work on the plantations in the hill country.

The Arrosmith map of 1803 shows the Tamil Homelands as larger than the Northern and Eastern Provinces of the Country (see Map 1).

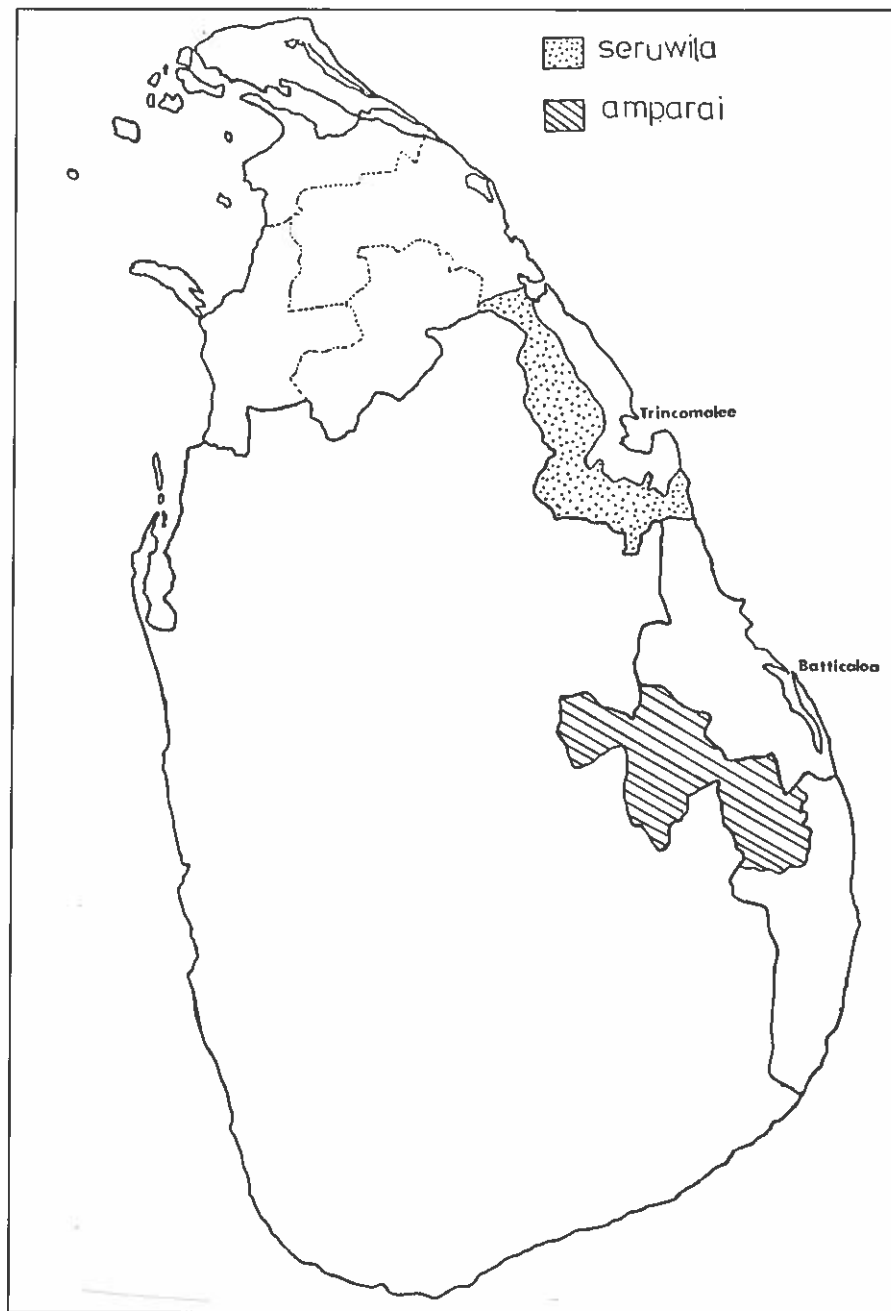
The Oppression of the Tamils

Colonisation

Since 1950, the Sri Lankan Government has embarked on the development of the river basins in the Traditional Homelands of the Tamils and encouraged colonisation by Sinhalese. At the time of Independence in 1948 there were barely 20,000 Sinhalese in the Eastern Province, but now there are over 200,000 Sinhalese living there. The Government has succeeded in creating two parliamentary constituencies, Amparai and Seruwila, in the area which have engulfed 1,500 square miles of Tamil Territory, constituting two-fifths of the Eastern Province (see Map II). The colonists in the southern part of the Province were rejected by the indigenous Tamils. Some of them turned to crime and have been responsible for race riots in the area.

Language and employment

In 1956, the Government made Sinhala the only official language of Sri Lanka. This is a measure which was originally proposed by (former) President Jaya-



Map II - showing the constituencies of Seruwila and Amparai

wardene in 1944. However it was opposed by the State Assembly and was amended to include both Sinhala and Tamil as official languages. On the 5th June 1956, a Bill to make Sinhala the only official language was presented in Parliament and supported by the two major Sinhalese parties. The history of violence against the Tamil people thus started on the Island. With only a few exceptions, the Sinhalese people accepted the discrimination and humiliation imposed on the Tamil People. In November 1988, Tamil was again made an official language. But other laws remain unchanged (for example Article 22 sub. art. 5).

However, the original introduction of Sinhala as the only official language resulted in the promotion of Sinhala chauvinism. The Tamils began to be discriminated against and humiliated in every area of society; but discrimination in the field of employment had the greatest impact.

During the British rule, the Tamils sought employment in the government services and, to a lesser extent, in the private sector. Tamils were predominant in certain fields, such as the professions or in clerical services. Though they did not comprise a large proportion of employees in the civil service, after 1956 it was decided that the number of Tamils in these jobs should be reduced. Merit ceased to be the criteria for hiring people in practice. A knowledge of Sinhala language was imposed as a condition of employment and this is still the case today. The discrimination against Tamils continues today to the extent that Tamils have ceased to look to government or government-sponsored corporations for employment.

Employment figures provide further evidence of the decline in Tamil representation in the public services and professions. The Government Tamil Clerical Services Union has calculated that between the years 1956 and 1970, there was a drop from 30 to 5 per cent in the Ceylon Administrative Service, from 50 to 5 per cent in the clerical services, 60 to 10 per cent in the professions (engineers, doctors, lecturers) and 40 to 5 per cent in the labour forces. Furthermore out of 23,000 teachers appointed by the state between 1971 and 1974, 18,000 were Sinhalese, 1,867 Tamils and 2,507 Muslims.

The discrimination in employment has also been the cause of the emigration of a large number of Tamil professionals. It is significant that the intake of Tamils in the security forces has been reduced so that the Army, Navy and Air Force do not comprise more than 2 per cent Tamils. The number in the police force has been reduced to about 5 per cent. This fact has facilitated the Security Forces being used violently against the Tamil people.

Higher Education

In 1970 the Sri Lankan government introduced a higher standard of requirement for Tamils entering university. In the engineering faculty, a Tamil had to

obtain 250 marks out of a maximum of 400, while a Sinhalese could enter with 228 marks. Due to protests, the government introduced what is called language-wise standardisation, which is unknown to the rest of the world, in order to achieve the same reduction in numbers of Tamil students. The intake of Tamils now in the science faculties has been reduced to nearly 80 per cent of what it was before. Since a large percentage of Tamils depend on education for employment, the discrimination in higher education has affected them severely and it has been the cause of youth participation in the freedom struggle of the Tamil people.

The 1972 Constitution

In 1972, the Sri Lankan government set about promulgating a new Constitution for the country. The Tamils, led by Federal Party, made representations but they fell on deaf ears. At this time the two leading Marxist parties were with the government and they, too, were party to the denial of the just demands of the Tamil people. From this point, the Tamils no longer took part in the making of the Constitution.

Violence Against the Tamils

1958 - Pogrom

In 1958, the Tamils faced major violence. Over 100,000 Tamils fled for safety to their Traditional Homelands. The violence was mainly by the Singalese people against the Tamils who lived among them. The scar of violence and humiliation could not be erased and the nature of the violence was so brutal that it became impossible for many Tamils to continue to stay in the South. There was arson, murder, rape and any brutality you could name.

1961 - Satyagraha (non-violent protest)

In 1961, police and army personnel unleashed violence against non-violent protesters, *Satyagrahis*, protesting against the imposition of the Sinhala language as the official language in Tamil areas. Almost 100 per cent of the Tamils in the North and East cannot understand Sinhala. The violence by the police and army appeared to be on the orders of the government.

1972-1976 - Detention and Torture

From 1972 to 1976 youths were arrested, detained and tortured by the police. The youths were protesting at the imposition of discriminatory higher standards of entrance into the university for Tamils. Over 40 youths were held without tri-



Homes and buildings have been destroyed (photo: HCR/A Billard)

al, some for a period of 4 years. These detentions were reported by Amnesty International in their Mission Report in 1975.

1974 - International Tamil Conference

In January 1974, police disturbed the final sessions of the Fourth International Conference on Tamil Research and eight persons died. The government declined to appoint a commission to inquire into the incident.

1977 - Pogrom

In August 1977, the Tamils faced one of the largest incidents of violence so far. The hand of many government supporters was seen as being involved in much of the violence. The violence took place on the 19th August, the day after the speech of J.R. Jayawardene, then Prime Minister, in Parliament offering to declare war on the Tamil people. It was repeated every half-hour on the government-controlled radio. This is similar to the action Mr. Bandaranayake took in 1958.

Evidence of some brutal gang-rapes were recorded by the commission that inquired into the events of 1977. Again, hundreds were killed and over 200,000

fled for safety to the Tamil Traditional Homelands. Over 40,000 of the plantation workers became destitute and refugees. Nearly 100 Hindu Temples were destroyed.

1979 - Torture Camp

On 11th July 1979, Mr. Jayawardene gave a "Hitler-like" order to his commander to eradicate terrorism within six months. Police made a start by killing three youths and placing three others on a disappeared list. Police and army set up a torture camp in the commander's residence. Hundreds of youths were rounded up and many were tortured. It appears that the commander reported that the task was completed successfully.

The Burning of the Public Library

President Jayawardene, hoping for a political coup to beat separatism, decided to hold elections for the District Development Councils and fixed them for the 4th June, 1981.

A few days prior to the elections, 300 policemen, together with 150 Sinhalese election officials, were sent to Jaffna ostensibly to supervise the elections. Minister Cyril Mathew and Minister Gamini Dissanayake, together with the Secretary and the Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and the Secretary to the Cabinet, arrived in Jaffna. On the 31st May, following gun shots by an unidentified gunman near the venue of an election meeting in Jaffna city, Sinhala police and army went on the rampage in an orgy of murder, looting, arson and terror in the city which lasted until the 8th June. The Jaffna public library, the second largest in the island containing over 96,000 rare books and manuscripts, the headquarters of Tamil United Liberation Front and the house of the member of Parliament for Jaffna were burnt down. Some shops in Jaffna and Chunnakam were looted and then reduced to ashes. Several innocent civilians were killed.

1981 - Pogrom

Following the violent events in Jaffna in June 1981, violence spread to the Eastern and Southern parts of the country. In Batticaloa and Amparai, 43 houses belonging to Tamils were burnt down. In the Eastern province a Hindu temple was set on fire and its high priest attacked. Over 500 Tamils took shelter in refugee camps.

In the upland country the plantation workers (Tamils) in 43 estates were attacked and driven away. About 15,000 of them fled to the Northern province as refugees.

✓ "The Observer" (London) in its issue of the 20th September, 1981, described the riots as follows:

It is clear that subsequent violence in July and August, which was directed against Sri Lanka Tamils in the east and south of the country, and Indian Tamil tea estate workers in the central region, was not random. It was stimulated, and in some cases organised, by members of the ruling United National Party, among them intimates of the President. In all, 24 people died, scores of women were raped, and thousands were made homeless, losing all their meagre belongings. Since Jayawardene came to power four years ago, a system of what his critics call "state terrorism" has brought an Ulster-style situation in the Tamil majority areas of the north and east.

1983 July Explosion

- Jaffna

Thirteen army personnel were killed in a bomb incident which is believed to have been in retaliation for the kidnapping of three Tamil girls by the army. The army went on the rampage on 23rd and 24th July and shot at random, killing several people including 6 children and an old man of 83. The army went on the rampage again on 26 and 27th and killed many more people including a university lecturer, women and students. The estimated total killed in Jaffna now is 100.

- Trincomalee

Trincomalee was again selected for attack. On 26th and 27th the navy went on the rampage and burnt over 200 houses and killed several people.

- Colombo

Several persons were burnt alive or hacked to death for the simple reason they were Tamil. The deaths in Colombo and its suburbs was estimated to be over 1,000. Almost all Tamil establishment were destroyed and most houses owned by Tamils were attacked looted or burnt.

- Massacre in Prison

There were over 70 political prisoners in Welikada Jail in Colombo and on the 25th July 37 of them were massacred by government agencies including the army. The deaths included that of Kuttimani who was nominated as Member of Parliament by the Tamil United Liberation Front.

On the 27th July a second massacre was carried out in which 18 people were killed including Dr. S. Rajasundram the Secretary of Gandhayan Society, an organisation which was working among the refugees from the 1977 and 1981 pogroms. It is quite apparent that the youth leaders were selected for killing and that the massacre was not by fellow prisoners as claimed by the government.

The period from 1983 to July 1987

Day to day killing increased. In the Northern and Eastern provinces more Tamils lost their homes and became refugees. Some went to South India as refugees, some came to Europe, Canada and Australia as refugees or immigrants.

Amnesty International and other human rights organisations wrote many reports.

Peace Negotiations

The Bandaranayake Chelvanayagam Pact in 1957 failed. The Dudley Senanayake Chelvanayagam Pact is a second failed attempt. The Indian government's peace accord favouring the Indian Government, Indian Peace keeping forces and the Sri Lankan government could not be implemented. The Tamils and Sinhalese totally oppose it.

Arrival of Indian Army

When the army first arrived it was welcomed by the Tamils. Soldiers were even welcomed into houses as friends. But from the 10th October 1987, they became strangers and were hated worse than the Sri Lanka army. Killings, arrests, deten-



Many Tamil families have had to flee (photo: HCR/A Billard)

tions, raping and looting started to take place in North and East Sri Lanka. According to Indian officials, 60,000 troops are stationed in Sri Lanka. According to other Tamil groups the number is more. A lot of Tamil people lost their homes and 60 per cent of the buildings were damaged.

Refugees

South India

There are about 50,000 refugees (no official figures are available) living in camps. They are under indirect attack from authorities and are badly treated. The Indian government refused permission to international organisations to take care of them.

Refugees in the North and East

Tamil refugees are still living in the camps (public buildings) they first went to in 1984. The only help they get is once in a while from the government. The refugees who attempted to go back to their homes after the Peace accord were stopped by the Sri Lankan army. Of the Tamil volunteers who came forward to help the refugees, about 16 people were arrested by the Sri Lankan army, three of them killed and the other 13 handed over to the Indian army. No one knows their whereabouts.

Indian Army Detention Camps in the North and East

There are detention camps organised by the Indian army. A lot of youths arrested by Indian army are being kept there for periods of more than a year. Some arrested youths disappeared (even after the emergency was lifted). For citizens-committee chairmen, social workers and human rights activists, disappearance is a normal incident. More than 10 such activists were shot and killed by Indian-backed groups or have disappeared. The evidence available points to the vehicles used for carrying out such atrocities as those found parked inside the Indian army camps.

The Demands of the Tamil People:

- 1) That the Sri Lankan government and the Indian government allow the international Red Cross to directly help the refugees in Sri Lanka and the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu (South India).
- 2) To arrange a cease fire between the Indian forces and Tamil groups.

- 3) Immediate release of all detainees in the hands of the Indian army and the Sri Lankan army.
- 4) A stop to armed groups supporting different political organisations in any part of Sri Lanka.
- 5) That an International Committee be formed to work towards a political solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.
- 6) That foreign journalists have freedom of movement in Sri Lanka.

USA: The Western Shoshone Nation Strives for a Hearing in the US Congress

On January 11, 1989, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the land and treaty rights of the Western Shoshone. This ruling also stripped them of their grazing rights and, as a consequence, their livestock will be confiscated. This is the ruin of the nation, economically and morally, but the Shoshone have not given up yet.

First of all, they will continue to strengthen their protest against the nuclear tests, which are conducted on their territory at the Nevada Test Site. Secondly they have drafted an 18 month action plan to retain a homeland for the people to survive. The main goal of this plan of action is to get a hearing before the US Congress to raise the history of injustice that the US court system has enacted in their case.

The Shoshone have been fighting to retain their land rights in the courts even before the "Indian Claims Act" of 1946. The ICA was passed in order to extinguish Indian land title by forcing financial compensation upon them. The Shoshone could not prevent the court from ordering a US\$ 26 million award for "the taking of the Shoshone lands". In fact, there had not been an act of "taking", except this award, which included the mechanism of extinguishment of land title. The Western Shoshone refused to accept this money in 1979 and from that time until today the \$26 million is still in the US treasury. The Shoshone never wanted to sell their land - their only goal was to have the Treaty of Ruby Valley respected. According to international law, this treaty is still valid and, in fact, not even the US courts have officially declared the treaty invalid. But they barred the Western Shoshone from raising the issue of the treaty in the court.

The case of the Western Shoshone is a travesty of justice and, as Chief Raymond Yowell said at a press conference after the court ruling, "a history of institutionalised racism".

The legal implications of this case for other Native nations' land rights in the US could be disastrous if a "solution" like this is used by the courts to solve other land rights cases in the US. Therefore, it is of enormous importance to support the Shoshone in their efforts to inform the public and the US Congress. Court actions against Indian land rights are the best protected secrets of the US legal system; it was the intention of the Indian Claims Act to keep Congress out of these affairs!

Because of their involvement and protest against nuclear tests, the Shoshone have received sympathy and support from the peace movement and environmen-

tal groups, as well as from their white neighbours in Nevada. Since protesters at the Nevada Test Site were arrested and sued for criminal trespass, the Shoshone, as the legal owners of the land, have given written permits to participants of non-violent actions at the NTS, and thousands of protesters and supporters have thus acknowledged Shoshone land rights.

But considering the more than 225 million Americans, thousands or tens of thousands, are not enough. Therefore a public media campaign in the US must be supported in order to inform the public about this little known case. A media campaign in European countries, letters to the US Congress and financial support for the efforts of the Shoshone's plan of action are urgently needed.

For further information contact: Western Shoshone National Council, P.O. Box 68, Duckwater, Nevada 89314.

USSR: How to Save Yamal

By B. Prokhorov

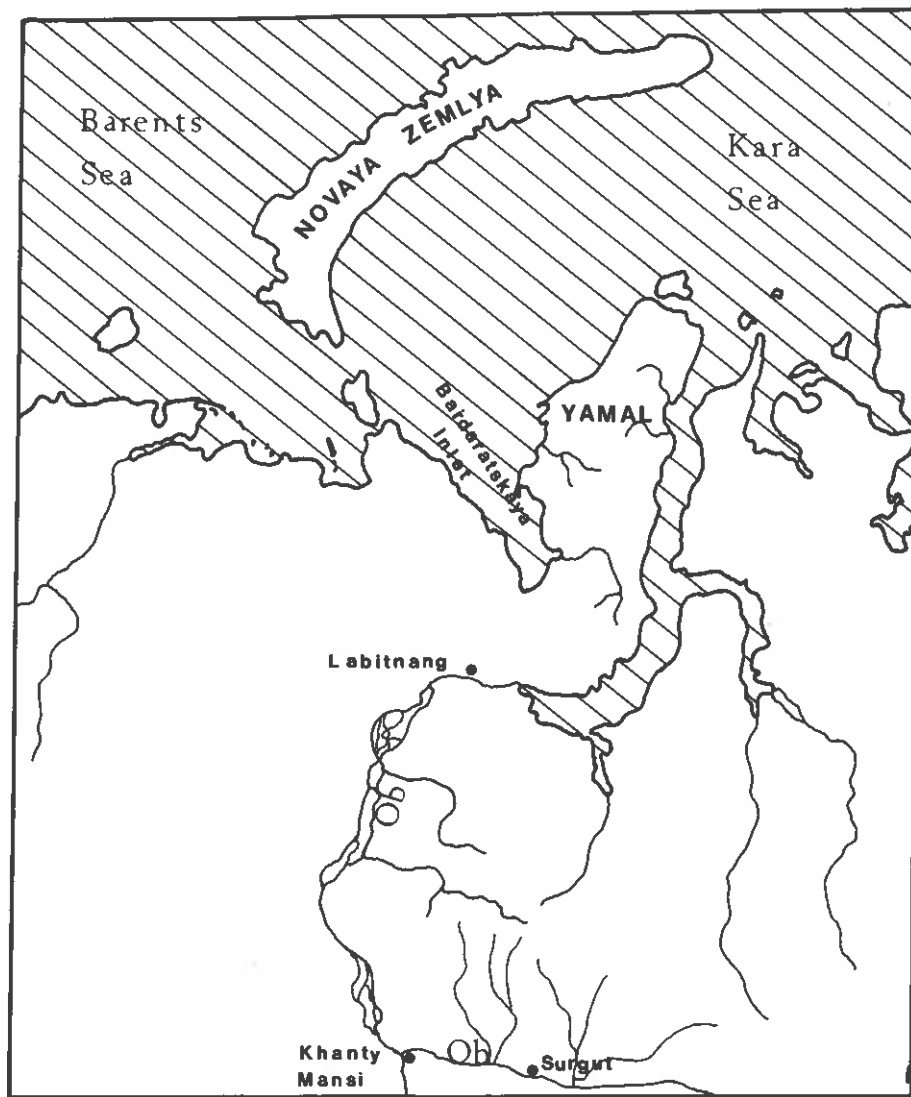
This is a report of the Conference of the State Expert Commission of Gosplan, USSR, which met to decide on the building of an oil pipeline and railway line across the peninsula of Yamal in the North of the USSR, a region inhabited by indigenous nomadic reindeer herders.

Introduction

The purpose of the Conference of the State Expert Commission of Gosplan USSR, (called simply GEK) was to discuss the problem of the best alternative for the railway track and gas pipeline which it had been already decided were to be established on Yamal. The members of GEK were read the report of the Expert Sub-Commission by its chairman, academician Tigran Sergeevich Khachaturov:

On Yamal, north of the 70th parallel, he said, the richest deposits of natural gas had been discovered, the largest at Bovanyenkovskoye. A railway line is to be built between Bovanyenkovskoye to transport shift workers from the Obskaya railway station which lies just west of Labitnang. The Ministry of Gas Industry of the USSR asked the project co-ordinators to supply the railway line and ten lines of gas pipes in a single corridor, so that the railway could carry out a patrolling function at the same time. The length of the corridor in the Yamal area will be 500-600 kilometres but there is also preliminary work going ahead on a marine alternative which will involve laying the pipeline over the Baidaratskaya Inlet. This alternative would shorten the length of the pipeline and, more importantly, shorten the Yamal part of the corridor by 400 kilometres. But Mingasprom (Ministry of Gas Industry) and Minneftegasstroy (Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction) have rejected this alternative because they are apprehensive of the complexities involved in constructing a marine crossing some 600 kilometres in length.

T.S. Khachaturov called the meeting's attention to the fact that the construction planners were solving the problem of laying the gas pipeline on purely technical grounds and completely ignoring the interests of the indigenous population of Yamal. They were approaching the problems of nature conservation on a pro forma basis. This being the case, said Tigran Sergeevich, the Expert Sub-Commission insists on building the gas pipeline across the Baidaratskaya Inlet. This is the most ecologically acceptable alternative and, more importantly, is al-



Map showing the location of the Yamal Peninsula

so more economical. As regards the railway, if the regulations about construction on permafrost are kept to and the demands set forth by specialists on reindeer farming and leaders of the local reindeer farming communities are implemented, then it will not significantly disrupt the ecological balance already present.

The many questions posed by delegates at the Conference were answered by Khachaturov and his deputies in the work of the Sub-Commission, Professor Serafim Sergeevich Ushakov, the famous specialist on the building of line constructions under extreme natural conditions, and myself, responsible for the ecological expertise and for problems concerning the indigenous population.

The Conference - commentary

Everyone has their own opinion about a particular problem but the problem here for the indigenous peoples of the North is close to me personally. I recall the Evenks, with whom I rode astride a reindeer along the small river valleys and shallow channels of North Transbaikal; the Nenets, with whom I floated on the Puru and lived on Yamal; and the Khanty, with whom I was fishing on the Agan. I remember vividly, although twenty years have passed, the striking view from the window of the medical assistance centre at Kharampur, deep in the heart of the West Siberian taiga. In the morning, before starting my work, I would stand for a long time looking through the steamed-up window at the pinkish, summer bark tents and the people in their beautiful fur clothes. Someone would be carrying on his shoulder a boat hollowed out from a poplar. Everywhere there was white sand and stumpy pine trees which mainly grew sideways instead of upwards. Little children played on the bank of the river. I would go to the entrance passage and there would be several fish lying on the table. The fishermen would greet our expedition; friendly, kind, joyful people.

Ten years later I was again in Kharampur. The settlement was in painful decay. The inhabitants had almost disappeared. They had migrated to one place or another. What became of them? What will be with them? Other Nenets and Khanty settlements have also decayed in the zone of pipeline construction. And here - now! - Yamal... I can see how a gigantic gas pipeline with its pipes (almost 1.5 metres in diameter) will scar Yamal for a distance of more than 500 kilometres. According to different reports, there will be between 9 or 11 pipes laid in one communication corridor. Construction work has never been carried out anywhere in the world (our country included) under such highly complicated engineering-geological conditions as on Yamal. This is true also for the railway which is already being built towards the Bovanyenkovskoye deposit. Besides the severe climate (low air temperatures, stormy winds, nine months of winter), the main complication is the perennial frost or, as it also called, permafrost with its

many surprises which have never been encountered in other districts in such powerful masses.

Specialists who study the properties of permafrost and the requirements for construction on frozen masses have pointed out how bad the investigations on Yamal have been in this respect. Inadequate appraisal of local geo-cryological conditions can lead, as has already happened more than once, to the transformation of the pipeline into a continuous, unhealed wound on the body of Yamal. Sleeping frost can take cruel revenge on those who disturb its peace. The width of the zone within which the gas pipeline will be laid and where the railway will be built will, according to the most optimistic calculations, extend for more than 1 kilometre. In reality, however, we are talking about 2-3 or more kilometres, since the permafrost will be broken not only by the trenches but also by powerful earth-excavating and pipe-laying equipment.

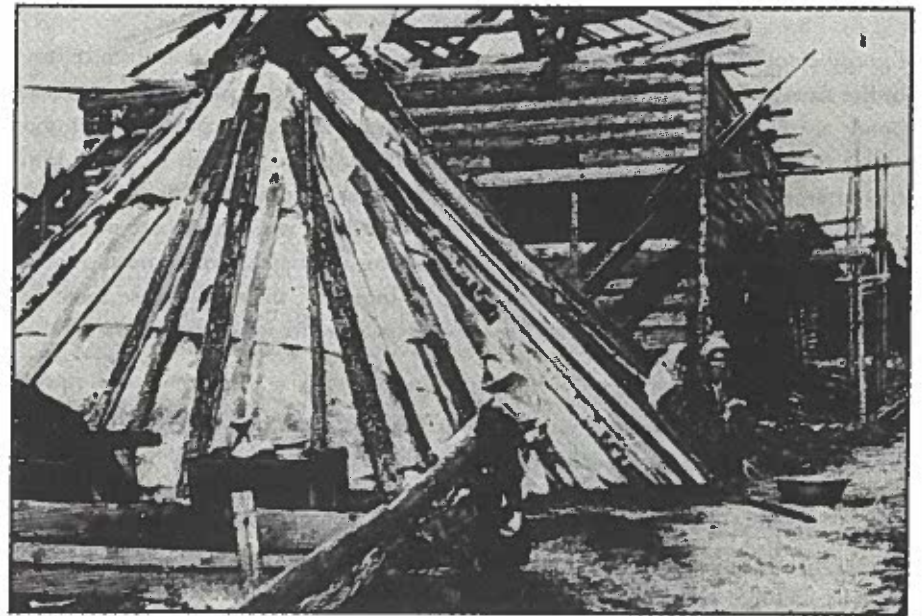
Reading some reports from the "Front Line of the Struggle for Gas and Oil" and looking through official materials, one might think that Yamal is rich only by virtue of its resources. But in reality this is not so at all. There are many varieties of birds and animals and its rivers and lakes are full of fish. On Yamal, one can find animals and birds which have become rarities elsewhere. The Atlantic walrus, sapsan, red-cropped black goose, gyrfalcon and small swan are under threat of extinction. The polar bear also needs defence and protection. An attempt was made to save this treasure which is not only our national property but belongs also to the whole of humanity. A zoological reserve was organised with an area of 1,400,000 hectares. Even now it is extremely difficult to protect it but, once its territory is "officially" crossed by the gas pipelines and the railway, the chance of preserving the lives of our fellow animals in this area will be very small. Thus a purely technological problem is in direct collision with socio-economic, ecological, ethical and, finally, political problems because the international community judges the level of maturity of a state's social structure by the relation of the state to nature conservation.

The fate of the Nenets on Yamal is not simple. The reindeer herders do not live in houses in settlements; they spend their lives in bark tents. Their health level is significantly less than the national average; infant mortality is high and life expectancy is low - 17 years less than the national average. It is a sad paradox that the Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansi autonomous regions are world suppliers of fuel, while the indigenous inhabitants who made this territory their home many centuries ago have not only received nothing from the common "energy pie" but are constantly suffering from the invasion of the oil and gas giants.

The economy of the native population is based on an intensive but careful use of the natural potential of this territory. The traditional economy necessitates interaction between huge, adjoining areas with widely varying ecological condi-

tions. The reindeer herds migrate over the huge territory of Yamal according to a natural rhythm. They spend winter in the southern districts of Yamal near the forests. With the start of spring, they begin moving the north to the pastures of the central peninsula where the females give birth to their young. Then the herds migrate northwest to the coast where the wind from the sea saves them from the troublesome mosquitoes. If one colours a map with a different colour for each reindeer pasture it appears like a mosaic. It is enough to "destroy" one colour for the total picture to break into pieces. Thus rational reindeer farming is possible only when a full set of pastures is present. Here there is a special "technological conveyor belt." Hunting the polar fox, too, requires a vast area of undisturbed tundra.

The extraction and transportation of gas does not demand such a huge territory. If we compare the total industrial area and the transportation corridors, then in comparison to the total area of Yamal it is not large, but the damage to nature and herding during their construction, if it is carried out as it was in Urengoy and Yamburg, will be immense. More accurately, it will be irreparable. The main reason for this lies in the low level of ecological understanding on the part of the project engineers and builders, and in the unjustified haste to "tear"



*A Khanty family prepares to move from their bark tent into a new house, 1957
(photo: Inuktitut)*

the gas and oil from the land as if there were no tomorrow. But what about the possibility of fires in the tundra when hundreds of hectares of iceland moss pastures can be destroyed?

For Yamal, it is not only the destruction of nature, which in itself is a tragedy, but also the undermining of the material basis of the traditional economy. This, in turn, leads to the destruction of the basis of existence for the indigenous population, because, at present, there is no viable alternative economy for the overwhelming majority of Yamal inhabitants.

The Conference Discussion

This situation was the background for a sharp discussion between the "ecologists" and the directors and specialists of the Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction and the Ministry of Gas Industry, and also some other government groups, who were out to try all kinds of means to build the super gas pipeline without any further preparation. The discussion was not between individuals and personal ambitions, but between those holding the "official" position and the leading representatives of the people who are openly and frankly disturbed by the fate of the Yamal population and ecology. This discussion preceded the final meeting of the State Expert Commission.

Energy Expert - In this country energy is very tightly balanced and therefore, in the Energy Programme of the USSR at the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan, great hopes are placed on the fuel resources of Western Siberia, in particular on gas which it has been promised will be exported from Yamal in 1991. It is true that this amount of gas could possibly have been taken from smaller deposits to the south, but this alternative has not yet been worked out whereas we are informed that the Yamal project is already prepared. As for ecological problems and especially the defence of the native population's interests, these of course must be carefully taken into account. Let the specialists and official groups work on this problem.

Road Surveyor - We are carrying out a decision. Yamal must be opened up and opening-up without roads is impossible. The railway is mainly necessary to bring in the workers. Aviation, because of the weather conditions in Yamal, cannot cope with this task. In many ways, constructing a road will promote the conservation of Yamal's nature since uncontrolled and large numbers of trips by heavily-chained transport on the tundra will be avoided.

Ecologist - Yes, on the condition that the construction be carried out observing in practice all norms governing nature conservancy, not just on paper.

Surveyor - This, above all else, is in the interest of the surveyors, constructors and users of the railway, since damage to the natural milieu along the railway track will inevitably lead to the destruction of the track itself. Then it will be necessary to repair it more than to actually drive along it.

Ecologist - But why then is the track from Urengoy to Yamburg damaged? It was planned by you yet it is not possible to use.

Surveyor - Because the constructors, in their haste to lay many kilometres of rails, did not follow the demands which were built into the project. In winter, the track was easily and quickly lain but in summer, the frozen ground melts and the embankment of the track floats on wet ground and the road is out of action. It is very difficult for the project designers to supervise every step of the construction.

I want to emphasise that, working in the tundra, we constantly meet the indigenous inhabitants. We can see many difficulties which they cannot always cope with. We sympathise with them. But our main responsibility is the track. We were told that we must build crossing paths for reindeer. We consulted the *sovkhozes* and we planned the crossing paths for the herds which were demanded from us. There were no further complaints about this problem... And we also pity the tundra.

Ethnographer - When the herds are being driven across the railway, it is essential that rail traffic is stopped for a period.

Constructor - Well, it will be very easy to reach an agreement with the railway men about this, and there will not be much movement of trains here. And also it is only necessary to drive the herds across twice a year.

Now, about the construction of the track itself. We are building under very complicated conditions. It is enough to say that the cost of the track is unheard of - several million roubles per kilometre. And we are constantly asked to speed up at the same time as being told to build it cheaper. I will give you one example. For the earth embankment we would use frozen earth. There is quite simply nothing else to use on Yamal. However, in order to use it, it has to be kept for one year in the open air so that the water will evaporate and only then can it be used for the embankment. However, we haven't got one year. So we are using, so-called, geo-textile which allows the water to pass through and keeps the earth in the embankment, but this complicates the construction and makes it more expensive.

Ethnographer – A railway, if it's built normally, is the arm of progress which reaches out to distant areas. There is no discussion about whether it's necessary on Yamal. The sooner, the better. But we do not want it to be built hastily and we want it to be up to modern technological standards. Furthermore, people will be using it.

Representative of the Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction and the Ministry of Gas Industry – As already indicated, the country needs fuel and we are quickly providing it where it is needed. The speed of production plays a significant role, rather than necessarily the dominating role. We said that we would provide the first gas from Yamal in 1991 so we will maximise our efforts to live up to this responsibility. The Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction is the construction ministry and we must build gas pipes and not be busy with the devil knows what... It's not our business to preserve nature and to save reindeer. The project of putting the pipes along Yamal is being worked out and we will construct it according to the project.

Ecologist – But you know, your planning people were the first to put forward the marine alternative, to put the pipes across the Baidaratskaya Inlet; it's cheaper in their opinion and, more important, it will only cross about 100 kilometres of Yamal rather than 540 kilometres. That saves many thousands of hectares and huge areas where the animals will not be frightened away...

Ethnographer – This is the real hope, to preserve the ecology so that the indigenous people can follow their traditional economy...

Ministry Representative – This is all empty talk. The construction of the gas pipe must be started in 1988 but the marine alternative demands additional investigations in the Baidaratskaya Inlet. This will mean ordering special pipelaying equipment from abroad. The construction will be delayed for several years.

Permafrost Specialist – One way or another, we need time to understand the permafrost situation in the peninsula. At present, we are fumbling along. We don't know where the geocryological conditions are better or worse.

Ministry Representative – Projection engineers chose the track using an engineering-geological map and afterwards the conditions along the projected track area were defined more accurately.

Permafrost Specialist – The map you used is very approximate. It is compiled according to "general considerations" from a small number of localities which

were investigated for entirely different purposes. For the construction, and especially for comparing the alternatives, maps are needed with a completely different degree of detail. It's not possible to make such a map in less than 2 to 3 years. And without it, you will make a mess of the pipes...

Ministry Representative – This is not the first time we have constructed pipelines. If we have some difficulties, we will sort them out in due course.

Ecologist – To start with, this is the first time you have built under such conditions. Remember, Yamal is not the Urengol. And not even Yamburg. I am amazed that you can't understand that. Secondly, you are building with bravado, and later on you will have to cope with about ten huge accidents per year. Millions of cubic metres of gas will escape into the atmosphere...

Ministry Representative – Where have you got this from? It's not true.

Ecologist – Yes, it is true. I am monitoring accidents and, if you want, I can give you precise figures over the years.

Ethnographer – Tell us how the construction will be carried out in practise.

Ministry Representative – As usual. We will lay 9 to 11 gas pipelines across the Yamal. It will be constructed mainly during the winter. The plan is to lay one line every year. We will dig a trench, lay the pipes inside and fill up the trench. We will put compressor stations along the trench. The following year there will be a new trench at a distance of 150 metres, and so on. All the pipes will be placed in a single technological corridor.

Ethnographer – If I understood you correctly, this "little corridor" will be about 1.5 kilometres wide and its construction will extend over 9 to 11 years. All this time it will be impassable for the reindeer herds because, of course, all living things will run away in every direction from the noise of the construction. But hunting is the most important source of income for the Nenets. Furthermore, you may be spending the foreign exchange income from the sale of furs in order to purchase the pipes.

Ministry Representative – The pipes will be laid and covered so that the reindeer can cross over them. If necessary, we will build crossing paths. Well, they will be crossing the railway line, so they can cross the pipes too.



Furs at the Khanty-Mansi State Promkhoz in Tyumen Oblast, the main administration centre for the USSR Hunting and Game Preserves (photo: Inuktitut)

Ethnographer - The width of the railway line differs significantly from 1.5 kilometres of dug-up and disfigured corridor. Besides that, the reindeer will be frightened away by the noise inside the pipes and especially by the noise of the compressor stations.

Ministry Representative - They say that the reindeer pay no attention to the noise in the pipes. As to the vegetation in the corridor, of course it will disappear for a very long time. But actually, it is not such a huge area.

Ecologist - It's very easy to calculate. Multiply 540 kilometres by 1.5 kilometres, and add a couple of kilometres on either side of the corridor. Surface transport

- pipe-carrying lorries, pipe-laying equipment, watchmen and so on - destroy the vegetation and leave exposed soil which will melt in summer changing into impassable swamp and later into a ravine; the result is destruction of the permafrost. And also the fires. On average, for 1 kilometre of technological corridor there is about 960 hectares of damaged and burnt-out reindeer pasture.

Ethnographer - And why is the Deputy of the region silent? What are they thinking about this in Salekhard? It's known that Yamal is the 'pearl of the Yamal-Nenets region' for reindeer farming, for hunting the polar fox and for fishing, especially since the more southerly areas of the region have suffered from the "iron heel" of the oil-gas complex.

Deputy - The Yamal-Nenets Regional Executive Committee studied the possible repercussions of constructing the railway and the main line of gas pipes on the herding on Yamal. According to our calculations, the head count of reindeer on Yamal will decrease by a minimum of 24,000. It will be necessary to resettle 250 indigenous families into settlements where, with the modern level of industry as it is, it will be difficult to employ them. In connection with the decreasing levels of reindeer farming and hunting, it will be necessary to build about 300 apartments plus hospitals, medical centres, clubs and so on in these settlements. All that will add up to 47 million roubles. This will at least compensate for the losses caused by the construction of the gas pipe and railway. The Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction, the Ministry of Gas Industry and the Ministry of Transport Construction (MPS) are developing departments which must build the houses and social infrastructures for the local population.

It's not money we need. But we have a very weak building sector, which cannot cope with the building and installation work. The socio-cultural facilities for the indigenous inhabitants must be constructed before the gas pipeline is laid and this is only possible for a powerful building organisation to do.

Ethnographer - I don't think that sum of money you mentioned will make a significant improvement in problems for the indigenous population. The money is a drop in the ocean for the building ministries. It consists of only a little bit more than the cost of 2 kilometres of a single gas pipeline. And what's more, will they agree to build the living facilities for the local people when they cannot adequately supply normal living conditions for their own building workers? Pipelines are top priority and people come afterwards... Why does the Deputy talk of housing facilities for only 250 nomadic families when 4,700 indigenous inhabitants of Yamal have no permanent housing? They need four times the number of houses you are asking for.

But this is still not the heart of the matter. Can we today say, with complete certainty, that the construction of the gas pipeline on the mainland of Yamal will not completely destroy the traditional way of life of the indigenous population?

Deputy - You raise too many questions at one time. I'll try to answer them in order. The Soviet and Party organs of the Yamal-Nenets region consider that it is necessary to build the gas pipeline and we have no right to hinder it.

Ethnographer - Nobody, as far as I can see, thinks otherwise. The other problem is how and when to build.

Deputy - Let me continue. Of course, the marine alternative suits us most of all. We will save so much land! As for the preservation of the traditional way of life, i.e. hunting, reindeer herding, fishing, if the builders promise to build carefully, to make crossings...the pastures and hunting areas will probably remain. Otherwise where should we go and what will the Nenets do? They are used to tending the reindeer and hunting. They do not want a different life. The young boys do their military training in the rocket corps and see what technology they deal with. But when they came home they rush back into the tundra to their beloved reindeer.

I don't know why it hasn't been mentioned here, but we must remember that on the 7th of February, 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Council of Ministers passed a special resolution, number 115: "Concerning measures for the further economical and social development of regions of habitation of the small ethnic groups of the North". In this resolution, it was directly stated that it is necessary to develop the North as a united complex, to promote in every possible way the development of industry and farming of the indigenous population and to improve their living conditions. Think what an amount of meat our northern reindeer farming can provide the builders themselves yet they shoot domesticated reindeer with rifles. The tundra is rich in fish and berries and all that is very desirable on the table of the northern people. But the newly arrived northerner is scarring the tundra with his bulldozer...

Now I'll come to the housing problem. In our land, a reindeer herder tends the herd with all his family. He travels from 500 to 1,000 kilometres with his herd. What does he need a house in a settlement for? He hasn't even time to glance inside it. Therefore, we don't think an apartment is necessary for a reindeer farmer or a hunter living in the tundra.

Ethnographer - I want to remind you that a small team working in shifts looks after the reindeer in the most advanced reindeer farms. One team tends the rein-

deer while the other stays at home and there is no need for the whole family to go on the tundra. Furthermore, in the areas of reindeer crossings it is necessary to build permanent bases with all facilities. How long do they have to live in bark tents! A bark tent is an abode worthy of respect but now, on the horizon of the third millennium A.D., are we continuing to pin our highest hopes on bark tents? Bark tents should be preserved in a museum and used in the event of natural catastrophes, but for our fellow citizens the time has come to live with electricity, television and a gas oven instead of a simple fire.

Ministry Representative - Look at you, what science fiction is this you have cooked up about one reindeer and his television set, and what do you order us to do about it? We must build. Time is passing. According to you, the workers must stand idle.

Ecologist - None of us can order you to do anything. But we have to try to forbid you to do something. You are the only guilty party in this situation. Your planners working on the project of the track don't pay any attention to the interests of the indigenous population. They completely ignore the problems of nature conservation. The Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction is not doing this for the first time. But one must hope that it is the last time. It wasn't just today that it became known that we have to start building something on Yamal. This project work should have started with the solution of the ecological problems. You are defending yourself with an environmental conservation report which was prepared for you by Lengiprogor, but I doubt if you have found time to read it. It is absolutely clear from this report that the problems of nature conservation during the construction of the gas pipeline on Yamal have not been studied. It's now about ten years since your own planners offered the alternative of laying the gas pipeline through the Baidaratskaya Inlet, not on the basis of nature conservation but for economical considerations. But in the Ministry it was forbidden even to think about this. If this had not been the case, it would probably have been possible to lay the pipes tomorrow. The greater part of the ecological demands would have been fulfilled.

Let's look the truth in the face. The well-being of the whole Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction and especially its leadership (I mean its prestige, bonuses and foreign business trips) depends on the volume of completed work. The more pipes that are laid, the better. The more difficult the conditions for laying, the better. Therefore any obstacles in the way of "their beloved pipes" (besides natural obstacles, which are heroically overcome by the Ministry's labourers) are taken as a personal insult. We have already heard from you the slogan: "The

country needs fuel - we must give it!" This slogan is a battering ram with which you crush your opponents, only now you shorten the slogan, responding to the way the wind is blowing. But earlier you were saying: "give at any price!" Frankly speaking, this whole debate is about this "price". Your people have been doing things "at any price" too much. But the Yamal gas is not the type of problem where we can afford to ignore the price. If, in the past, the Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction had taken a more responsible approach to the task before it, then the situation would have been solved without this drama.

With regard to your question about what to do now, you need to think about, and study, those aspects of the problem which you previously ignored. Our opinion, and that of our colleagues, is that the building of the railway must not rush ahead. It must proceed on "tip-toe" because the construction is taking place in previously unheard-of conditions. Nobody has ever built a railway in such regions. This is the first time, if you like an experiment, and therefore it is necessary to build as if the most delicate experiment were being undertaken. As for laying the gas pipeline, you need to postpone it until all the difficulties related to it have been solved. These difficulties are perfectly obvious.

Firstly a detailed study of the natural environment where the gas pipeline will be built is needed. To begin with, the permafrost demands a detailed study.

Secondly, the marine alternative must be studied, but not in such a way that it is rejected, in such a way as to put it into practice. Together, we must develop methods of pipeline construction in polar seas because oil and gas have already been found on the Arctic shelf and on the islands of the Arctic Ocean. Where can we learn to build such structures if not on the Baidaratskaya Inlet?

Thirdly, it is necessary to develop quickly and establish a complex programme for "conservation of the Yamal nature under conditions of industrial development."

Permafrost Specialist - This programme needs to give carefully attention to the question of protecting the geological milieu.

Ethnographer - I want to add the fourth, and what to my mind is the most important, consideration that of developing a complex programme entitled "Indigenous population of Yamal", which will be linked with the nature protection programme but will be mainly oriented to the interests of the indigenous populations and their relation to the changes taking place on their land. Never mind how strange it sounds, we are solving all the problems of the indigenous inhabitants without their participation. This is complete nonsense and, to put it mildly, distorts the policy towards nationalities.

Ministry Representative - Tell me, comrade scientists, are you completely sure about what you are saying? In your opinion, the reindeer will perish, the Nenets will become very poor, and the nature of Yamal will be damned?

Ethnographer - I'm happy to say that we cannot be certain of such gloomy predictions. I, and apparently other colleagues in this situation, do not want to appear as prophets. But there are well-founded fears that these sombre predictions could become the reality. Even if there were only a one per cent chance of these predictions happening, it would be necessary to investigate the problem; but in this case the possibility is much higher.

The Conclusion of the Conference

That was a general rundown of discussion. The conference lasted almost three months, couped up inside the walls of Gosplan USSR and from time to time moving to Yamal, Salekhard and Tyumen. But it certainly couldn't go on indefinitely. The time came to make a decision. Rem Ivanovich Vyakhirev, the first Deputy Minister of Gas Industry, spoke:

"The Ministry of Gas Industry," he said "has taken upon itself the decision to construct the line through the Baidaratskaya Inlet."

There was no applause because at GEK meetings this is not normally done. But the wrinkles smoothed away on the brows of many people present and the anxiety faded. The rational approach to a complex social and technical problem had triumphed.

...Triumphed so far - because the matter is more than just only pipes, trenches and compressor stations. During the development process, over huge areas of tundra, two cultures are in collision: the one - ancient, fragile and unique; the other - modern, assertive, self-satisfied and technocratic.

I don't want to say anything bad about the people who are developing this severe land. I know them well through a life shared at the borehole and at meetings on the construction of new cities. I am always delighted by their endurance, modesty and courage. Only such people could live and work in the North. They were constantly told about their outstanding character and exploring spirit, and they were rarely reminded of the ecology, the culture of the local people and the necessity to respect other customs, traditions and ways of life. The scientists and writers, journalists and leading people in the ministries of Northern Development are probably guilty of this. The latter, it's true, should have broadened their own outlook into the fields of ecology and ethnography and this is still not happening.

The conflict between the different cultures develops to the disadvantage of the indigenous population. Let us listen to the opinion of the leader of our party

who, on October 1st, in a speech in Murmansk called for, among the most important problems of the North which demand investigation and decisions at state and international level, attention to the interests of the indigenous population of the North and the preservation of its nature.

That is why I want to emphasise that GEK of Gosplan USSR's change in the gas pipeline route does not solve many problems for the indigenous inhabitants of Yamal. It only gives hope. Now the business has moved on, first to the Party Committee and Soviet of People's Deputies of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region. They must, it seems to me, order the research organisations of the Academy of Science of the USSR and VASKHNIL (All-Union Academic Agricultural Scientific Research Laboratory), at the expense of the development ministries, to work out special measures creating more favourable conditions for the work, homelife and recreation of the indigenous population. At the same time they must define the role of the Ministry of Gas Industry, the Ministry of Oil and Gas Construction and the Ministry of Transport Construction in achieving these measures and, of course, define the task of the local power organs to organise effective and active control for the preservation of Yamal's natural treasures.

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